

**POLICY AND PROGRESS
IN SECONDARY EDUCATION
1902-1942**

**All wisdom is not new wisdom, and the
past should be studied if the future
is to be successfully encountered.**

The Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill on Post-War Education
21st March 1943

POLICY & PROGRESS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

1902—1942

by

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THOMAS NELSON AND SONS LTD
LONDON EDINBURGH PARIS MELBOURNE
TORONTO AND NEW YORK

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NOTE ON USE OF TERMS

IN 1926 the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education recommended in the Hadow Report "that education up to '11 plus' should be known by the general name of Primary Education, and education after '11 plus' by the general name of Secondary Education." Under the head of Secondary Education they thus wished to include all schools of a post-primary type. They further suggested that the name Grammar Schools should be given to all Secondary Schools following a predominantly literary or scientific curriculum, and that the name Modern Schools should be used for all Selective Central, Non-Selective Central, or Senior Schools.¹

Unfortunately these suggestions were not generally adopted, and in 1938 it was still possible for the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board to miss the point of a question asked in the House of Commons through interpreting the term "Secondary Education" in its narrower sense. On 31st December 1938, the Consultative Committee published their long-awaited "Spens Report" on "the organization and interrelation of schools other than those administered under the Elementary Code which provide education for pupils beyond the age of 11 plus."² In the Spens Report they adhered to their former use of terms,³ and gave reasons for its adoption.

In this book, for the sake of clearness, what the Committee called Grammar Schools will, as a rule, be referred to as secondary (grammar) schools. If the term "secondary" is used by itself in the narrower sense, it will be placed between inverted commas, as here. In quotations, however, the original words will be left unaltered.

INTRODUCTORY

BEFORE entering on a discussion of Board of Education policy towards the education of boys and girls between the ages of 11 and 18, it is essential to attempt a picture of the extraordinary state of administrative and financial confusion into which the schools of England had drifted by the close of the nineteenth century, when the Board was finally established. Without some grasp of this chaotic background the modern reader might fall into the common error of under-estimating the services to education which have been rendered by the Board in the past forty years.

It will be the author's aim in the main part of this book to hold the balance between those who attack and those who defend the Board and their policy, and by explaining the peculiar difficulties that have beset their path, to reach a true estimate both of their achievements in the realm of secondary education and of their shortcomings.

PART ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I

ENGLISH EDUCATION IN THE 'NINETIES

THE year 1895 is for various reasons a suitable point from which to start a survey of the educational scene in the closing years of the last century. It was in 1895 that the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education issued its famous report, and it was in that same year that both Michael Sadler and Robert Morant, the two men who were destined to play the chief parts in laying the foundations of a national system of education, began their official connection with the Education Department, Sadler as Director of the newly formed Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, Morant as his Assistant-Director.

Morant himself, in a paper read to the Education Club three years later, gave a brilliant metaphorical description of the way in which the existing educational system had come into being. It seems, he stated, as though a man has been

seeking to build a substantial house by working spasmodically on odd portions of the structure on quite isolated plans, fashioning minute details of some upper parts when he has not set up, nor indeed even planned out, the substructure which is their sole possible foundation and stay; his very best efforts being thus necessarily rendered abortive by the fact that, while he is hammering at this portion of it or that, he possesses no clearly thought-out plan of the structure as a whole; and when at last he comes to this most important step, after fifty years of these varied efforts, he finds all his available funds irretrievably sunk in the creation and maintenance of the basement and one or two outlying portions of the work, with no means left for making good those broader and

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higher portions by which alone the building as a whole can be made complete and secure or be protected against "the act of God or the Queen's enemies." ⁴

In this passage the elementary school system is clearly indicated as the "basement," the secondary school system as the non-existent first floor, which should form the "sub-structure" for the "upper parts," or university. The "one or two outlying portions of the work" seems to refer mainly to technical education, and the expression will gain in meaning when we consider the place Morant assigned to technical education when he had become chief architect. His biographer attaches some importance to this building metaphor, as revealing what he calls the "architectonic" quality of Morant's mind, and the reader may be reminded poignantly of it when considering the surreptitious act of demolition which Morant thought necessary before a satisfactory building could be erected.

I PRIMARY EDUCATION

In primary education, using the term in the sense already defined, the splendid efforts both of School Boards set up by the Act of 1870 and of the Churches and other religious bodies "had almost succeeded by 1895," despite the extraordinarily rapid increase in population in the previous twenty-five years, "in providing a school place for every child entitled to one." ⁵ The upper age limit for compulsory attendance at school had been fixed at ten in 1876, and at eleven in 1893, but it was not increased to twelve till 1899. There was as yet, therefore, no question of the age of compulsory attendance at an elementary school overlapping the normal age of entry to the voluntary "secondary" schools.

The elementary system was, in fact, a completely self-contained and highly organized system for children from working-class homes, staffed by teachers of the same origin, who had had no contact with any other branch of education either during their childhood or in the course of their professional training, which began, if they were lucky, in a pupil-

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teacher centre, and ended, again if they were lucky, in a training college for teachers.

The responsibility for this system of schools rested on the Education Department, which worked under the wing of "the sleeping Committee of Council," * as Sir Graham Balfour has aptly described it. From the offices of the Privy Council the Education Department "wove its web of annual Codes for the uniform regulation of the elementary schools," † and tried without much success to maintain efficient contact with 2,568 School Boards and 14,238 independent schools. About one-seventh of the nation's children under eleven were being educated in private schools outside the national system. These were almost entirely from middle- and upper-class homes. Their parents feared, not without justification, that if they sent them to the public elementary schools they might acquire the bad speech habits and rough manners that were prevalent among poorer children. This attitude of aloofness was certainly strengthened by the knowledge that little or no special provision was as yet made for mentally defective children, whose presence in the overcrowded elementary schools added greatly to the teachers' problems and impaired the efficiency of the instruction. Nor was any provision made for cripples; and the duty to provide suitable education for blind and deaf children had only recently * been imposed on school authorities.

2 THE INADEQUACY AND CONFUSION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

(a) *Non-local Schools*

In the realm of secondary education, in its widest sense, there was still a complete lack of system, except for the public schools and their "feeders," which had long been closed to boys from poor homes. Rescued from degeneracy by Dr. Arnold of Rugby † and humanized by Edward Thring of Uppingham, the great non-local ‡ schools and their modern

* By the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act, 1893

† *I.e.* schools not confined to boys living in the locality, but drawing pupils from all parts of the country or of the Empire

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imitators were providing a fairly satisfactory but expensive secondary education for about 35,000 boys of the governing and professional classes, nearly all of whom were boarders.⁸ These schools were entirely independent of State control, and with the preparatory schools, which had been established by private enterprise for the express purpose of preparing boys for their entrance examinations, they provided an exclusive education, leading to the ancient universities, for boys from the age of eight to eighteen.*

(b) *Grammar Schools for Boys*

The rise of these non-local schools had seriously hit many of the ancient grammar schools, but the Endowed Schools Commissioners, appointed in 1869 to give effect to the findings of the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1867, had by their energetic handling of moribund or misapplied endowments done much to revive them. Within five years they had worked out no fewer than 902 schemes for reforming individual schools,⁹ and though in 1874 their functions were submerged in those of the less energetic Charity Commission, as a result of their labours "a large body of schools began to do solid work, to send pupils to the universities, and to inherit the spirit which the scholastic generation that followed Arnold's death had called into being."¹⁰

Mr. Norman Lowndes, who has gone very carefully into the matter,¹¹ has estimated that by 1895 over 75,000 children were receiving secondary education in schools of the grammar school type—a remarkable tribute to the work of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, if Matthew Arnold's corresponding calculation of 15,000 made in 1868 is anywhere near the mark.

It was impossible, however, as the Schools Inquiry Commission had asserted in 1868, to create a complete system of secondary education out of existing endowments. Many of the Elizabethan grammar schools had perished in the

* For a fuller account of the public schools, see Ch. XXV.

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financial crash caused by the Napoleonic wars, leaving gaps which had never been filled. Moreover, the rapid increase in size of the chief industrial towns had produced huge centres of population in which little or no provision for secondary education as yet existed.

(c) *Grammar Schools for Girls*

If the provision for boys was, on a general view, inadequate, it was still more so for girls. "The education of women was probably at its lowest ebb about half a century ago," wrote Miss Cobbe in 1904, thinking of the more expensive type of private school. "It was at that period more pretentious than it had ever been before and infinitely more costly; and it was likewise more shallow and senseless than can easily be believed."¹²

Cheaper schools for girls were at that time in little better case. The teachers were underpaid, the equipment was wretched, and the education confined to the three R's, supplemented by "a few dry facts."

The Schools Inquiry Commission by extending their reference to include the secondary education of girls opened up a new era in girls' education, but the amount of money that the Endowed Schools Commissioners were able to divert for the education of girls was limited, and in 1895, Mr. Lowndes has calculated,¹³ less than a quarter of the 75,000 to 80,000 pupils in endowed schools were girls. A vigorous movement for the reform of female education, which began modestly enough in 1847 with what amounted to a series of popular extension lectures for women, led to the establishment in 1872 of the Girls' Public Day School Company, which founded fourteen "secondary" day schools in its first five years, and set a high standard for others to follow.

All attempts, however, to make up for the deficiency of secondary schools for girls were swamped by the enormously rapid increase of population at this period, and it soon became evident that only generous assistance from State funds could deal satisfactorily with the problem.

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(d) *Higher "Elementary" Education*

The neglect of the backward in favour of the more intelligent children, and the general lack of thoroughness in elementary education disclosed in the report of the Newcastle Commission (1858), which had been appointed to promote sound and cheap elementary education "among the children of the labouring poor,"* had led almost inevitably to the establishment of a rigid system of "standards," with grants depending on a formal annual examination of the whole school by the inspector. The "payment by results" Code provided that grants should not as a rule be earned by children above twelve, though in fact at that time less than 20 per cent. of the children spent more than three years at school, and the great majority left before the age of ten.¹⁴ The best elementary schools had begun to tackle higher work, but this "was severely discouraged by the Code of 1862. The curriculum was largely restricted to the three R's, and the only form of practical instruction that survived was needlework."¹⁵

The rigidity of the Code was gradually relaxed, but the process "was not carried sufficiently far to resuscitate many of the 'select classes' which had existed up to 1862."¹⁶ Such progress as there was in higher elementary education took place outside the State system in a few country schools where "tops" were successfully organized by the local squires for older children.

In 1868 the Schools Inquiry Commission recommended the establishment of three parallel grades of higher or secondary schools, with leaving ages of 18, 16, and 14, each with its own appropriate aim. The non-local public schools would count as first grade, and the local grammar schools as second grade. Schools of the third grade, they thought, could be successfully established in every town of over 5,000 inhabitants.¹⁷ This suggestion greatly impressed enthusiasts for elementary education, who tried to develop new schools of the third-grade type, as well as "tops" to existing primary schools.

* Mr. Lowe's speech in the House of Commons, 13th February 1862

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The School Boards set up by the Elementary Education Act (1870) were for many years mainly occupied in building new schools to meet the shortage of school places. Meanwhile, however, the writings of Huxley, Matthew Arnold, Ruskin, and Herbert Spencer had fostered the growth of public interest in education, which led to the gradual expansion of the curriculum of elementary schools. From 1875 to 1895 the curriculum was divided into three parts: the obligatory subjects of the 1862 Code, the optional class subjects such as grammar, geography, and history, and the specific subjects for individual scholars in Standards IV to VI. These included foreign languages and various branches of pure and applied science. This enrichment of the curriculum had a marked effect on the length of school life, which was further increased by Lord Sandon's Act of 1876, which for the next five years provided three years' free education for pupils who had passed the Standard IV examination at ten years of age. The better enforcement of attendance bye-laws also aided this upward extension of the school-leaving age, and in 1882, for the benefit of the older pupils, a seventh standard was added to the previous six. A number of children, however, remained at school after passing the seventh standard, and "ex-standard" classes were formed for them. The School Boards, having supplied the most pressing needs in the way of new elementary schools, now began to turn their attention to the needs of these ex-standard children. Where the density of the population made it possible, they drafted these older children from a number of schools into one central school, a new type which came to be known as a "Higher Grade School," keeping its pupils to the age of fifteen at least. In 1894 there were sixty of these schools in England, exclusive of Monmouthshire and London.

"The growth of almost any English institution," it has been truly said, "proceeds by a series of accretions, largely independent of consistency but adopted for utility and tested by practical experience."¹⁸ Higher grade schools are an excellent example of this process. Though they owed their origin to the elementary school, and were therefore still

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officially classed as "elementary," their work was of a secondary nature. If some inquisitive ratepayer had asked how these schools came to be providing secondary education in a building erected for elementary education, the reply would have been that an elementary school had been defined by Act of Parliament as one "in which elementary education is the principal part of the education given," and that as only a minority of pupils proceeded to the higher work, it was permissible to charge the cost of the buildings to the rates.

A substantial portion of the cost of maintenance, however, came from the Science and Art Department. This department had originated in a Normal School of Design, established by the Board of Trade in 1837, which from 1841 onwards made annual grants to provincial schools of design. But after the Great Exhibition of 1851 had drawn attention both to the defects of British handicrafts and to the rapid advances being made by continental trade rivals who had organized their general and technical education, the Government decided to grant similar State assistance to the teaching of science.¹⁹ The Department was therefore renamed "The Department of Science and Art," and provided with additional funds to assist the teaching of science in schools and evening classes. In 1859 the Department instituted a general system of examinations in science applicable to the whole country, on the results of which grants were paid. In order to qualify for a grant, a school had to be recognized as "an organized science school," or as providing "an organized science course." The Department lost no opportunity of extending its influence among grammar schools, higher grade schools, and evening continuation schools. These last provided part-time education for young people who had left school and were already at work, but wished to continue their education in their spare time. But in many cases the insistence on scientific training was excessive, and resulted in a narrow and lop-sided education. In spite of this, the number taking the examinations rose from 2,548 in 1862 to 68,581 in 1882,²⁰ figures which give clear indications of "the half-conscious striving of a highly

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industrialized society to evolve a type of school analogous to and yet distinct from the 'secondary' school, and providing an education designed to fit boys and girls to enter the various branches of industry, commerce, and agriculture at the age of fifteen." ²¹

But to Robert Morant, newly returned from Siam, with his architectonic mind and his strong prejudice in favour of the traditional academic education which he had received as a boy at Winchester, the defects of the higher grade schools must have been more apparent than their potentialities.

(c) *The County Councils and Technical Education*

The establishment by the Local Government Act (1888) of county and county borough councils on a broad popular basis throughout the country was a measure of first-rate importance. The following year the Technical Instruction Act authorized these new bodies to apply rate aid, limited to a penny in the pound, to the provision of technical and manual instruction in their own areas. Elementary schools were excluded from the grant. Probably little would have become of the Act but for a fortunate incident. In 1890 the Chancellor of the Exchequer was persuaded to divert a sum of nearly three-quarters of a million pounds, which was originally to be applied to compensating publicans who had lost their licences, into the pockets of county and county borough councils. A certain proportion was to provide pensions for policemen, but the rest was to be spent on technical education or in relief of rates. Though now compelled to provide for technical education, the councils were in most cases able to avoid the necessity of levying a rate or applying this windfall to the relief of rates. The "Whiskey Money" increased steadily from year to year, and the great majority of it was conscientiously spent on education, less than two-thirds being applied to technical education in the strict sense.²² Some of the money went to evening continuation schools, but most of it was given to the local grammar schools, sometimes in a lump sum to build science laboratories, sometimes in the

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form of an annual grant. By 1895, 218 schools, containing about 28,400 scholars, were benefiting.²³

James W. Headlam, whose report on the *System of Secondary Education in the County of Surrey* is to be found in the Bryce Commission Report (1895), paid a striking testimony to the "skill, vigour, and discretion" of the Surrey County Council in aiding secondary education. "On the other hand," he went on, "it is certainly undesirable that the duty of founding Secondary Schools should rest with a body whose primary task is the provision of technical education; in Surrey, secondary education is much more important than technical, and it would be much to be regretted that people should get into the way of thinking that this general training was an accidental appendage to instruction in natural science, mechanics, or 'commercial' French and German."²⁴ In referring to the need for new secondary schools, especially of the third grade, he says, "It is quite clear that the schools are urgently required, and the County Council is the only public body which has vigorously undertaken the work. . . . So far as I am able to judge, the whole action of the County Council in these matters shows that, as at present constituted, it would do the work with great vigour and with real knowledge and interest in educational matters. . . ."²⁵ The Council are attempting to put within the reach of all students in the county secondary education, either by means of schools or classes, and, hampered as they are by legal restrictions, they are rapidly succeeding in their endeavour. The way in which they have used their money goes, I think, a long way towards justifying their claim to be recognized as the local authority for secondary education."²⁶

3 REPORT OF THE BRYCE COMMISSION (1895)

The Bryce Commission (1894-1895), which owed its origin to an important conference on secondary education held at Oxford in 1893, was asked to find out "what are the best methods of establishing a well-organized system of

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secondary education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies. . . ."²⁷

The Commissioners' analysis of the work of the three central authorities was briefly as follows :

1. The Charity Commission, under the Endowed Schools Acts, can deal only with certain endowed schools, and with these only for certain purposes ; while the processes involved are complex and tedious.

2. The Department of Science and Art can take cognizance only of certain subjects out of the number of those which are comprehended in secondary education.

3. The Education Department touches secondary education only through the higher work of certain elementary schools, and (less directly) through the training of teachers.

While the sphere of each authority is thus narrowly circumscribed, these authorities have no organic connection with each other.²⁸

We find the usual results of dispersed and unconnected forces, needless competition between the different agencies, and a frequent overlapping of effort, with much consequent waste of money, of time, and of labour.²⁹

The problem, as the Commissioners saw it, was

how to provide a single central authority which shall supervise the interests of secondary education in England as a whole ; to provide local authorities, representative in the most complete sense, which shall in their respective areas regard these interests with a similarly comprehensive view ; and, reserving a large freedom of action for such local authorities, to reconcile the ultimate unity of central control with a system sufficiently elastic to meet the almost infinite variety of local requirements.³⁰

The Commissioners stated emphatically that they proposed to leave the initiative in public action to local authorities. "So far from attempting to induce uniformity, we trust that a free and spontaneous variety, and an open field for experiment and enterprise of all kinds, will be scrupulously preserved."³¹

The object of the central authority would not be to control, "but rather to supervise the secondary education of the country, not to over-ride or supersede local action, but to

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endeavour to bring about among the various agencies which provide that education a harmony and co-operation which are now wanting." Among its chief functions would be the supplying of information and advice to the local authorities.²²

There was nothing very original in the Commissioners' suggestion for a single central authority and a single local authority for secondary education. The same recommendation had been made by the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1868. Unfortunately, "only a fragment of the system they had elaborated with so much foresight and patient statesmanship" ²³ was established, and even that was abolished within five years. What the Bryce Commission was now recommending was that their plan should be given a fair trial.

The most remarkable contribution of the Bryce Commission is to be found in their broad view of "What Secondary Education is." They boldly recognized that since the days of the Schools Inquiry Commission the natural growth of special and technical studies in schools had created a new branch of secondary education "as distinctly a preparation for apprenticeship, or for an industry, as the old first-grade school was for a profession or the university," ²⁴ and one which had no doubt modified current ideas as to secondary education. Their witnesses had offered a bewildering variety of definitions of secondary education, most of them strongly coloured by their own individual experience, and none of them both comprehensive and satisfactory.

In a striking passage, which may not unreasonably be attributed to the pen of Michael Sadler, the Commissioners defined secondary education and gave their view of its relationship with technical.

Secondary education is the education of the boy or girl not simply as a human being who needs to be instructed in certain rudiments of knowledge, but it is a process of intellectual training and personal discipline conducted with special regard to the profession or trade to be followed. . . . All secondary schools . . . in so far as they qualify men for doing something in life, partake more or less in the character of institutes that educate craftsmen. Every profession, even that of winning scholarships, is a craft, and all crafts are arts.

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But if secondary education be so conceived, it is evident that under it technical instruction is comprehended. The two are not indeed identical, but they differ as genus and species, or as general term and particular name, not as genus and genus or as opposed terms.

No definition of technical instruction is possible that does not bring it under the head of secondary education, nor can secondary education be so defined as absolutely to exclude from it the idea of technical instruction. Technical instruction is secondary, *i.e.* it comes after the education which has awakened the mind by teaching the child the rudiments, or, as it were, the alphabet, of all knowledge, and the better the whole of this alphabet has been mastered, the better and the easier will later learning be. And secondary education is technical, *i.e.* it teaches the boy so to apply the principles he is learning, and so to learn the principles by applying them, or so to use the instruments he is being made to know, as to perform or produce something, interpret a literature or a science, make a picture or a book, practise a plastic or manual art, convince a jury or persuade a senate, translate or annotate an author, dye wool, weave cloth, design or construct a machine, navigate a ship, or command an army. Secondary education, therefore, as inclusive of technical, may be described as education conducted in view of the special life that has to be lived with the express purpose of forming a person fit to live it.²⁵

It is hard to believe that a definition so powerful, so lucid, and so convincing should have been set aside as soon as the central authority which alone could put this noble conception into practice had been set up. Such, however, was the case.

4 EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS 1895-1899

The remarkable speed of the Bryce Commission, who published their report of seven volumes only seventeen months after they were appointed, was valuable evidence of Lord Rosebery's desire to introduce comprehensive legislation at the earliest possible moment.

In 1895, however, the Liberals went out of office. But the Conservatives, under Lord Salisbury, were no less anxious to implement the Bryce Commission Report. There was general agreement on the need for a single central authority for all branches of education, while the idea of a single local authority

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was gaining ground. The Liberals, however, favoured the retention and extension of School Boards, while the Conservatives, impressed by the excellent work of the county councils in administering the Whiskey Money, wanted to hand over to them responsibility for all branches of education in their areas. When in 1896 the Government introduced a Bill for this purpose, the Liberals, alarmed at the proposed destruction of School Boards, strongly opposed it, and by skilful methods of obstruction succeeded in killing it.⁸⁶

The most serious problem in elementary education at this time was the widening financial gap between the voluntary Church schools, which contained more than half the school population, and the board schools. Though the income of the Church schools from subscriptions had doubled since 1870, the rapid increase in school population had put an almost intolerable strain on their finances. Except in rare cases they were quite unable to offer an education equal to that provided by the rate-aided board schools, which on the average were spending nearly four times as much money on each child. In 1895 the Church party had demanded increased grants for voluntary schools, preferably from the Exchequer,⁸⁷ and the abortive Act of 1896 contained proposals for relieving the strain and equalizing the spending power of voluntary schools and board schools, which would have gone some way towards satisfying their demands. These proposals, in a modified form, were forced through Parliament in the following year. The 17s. 6d. limit of Exchequer grant was abolished, school property was derated, and an "aid grant" of 5s. per head was made available. Similar relief was given to necessitous School Boards in the same year. These measures, however, were only stop-gaps, giving temporary relief until a more comprehensive scheme could be brought forward.⁸⁸

The closing years of the century saw a great change in the instruction given under the Science and Art Department. As has been explained above, in its attempts to push the claims of science, the Department had seriously restricted the general education of pupils in "schools of science." Witnesses before the Bryce Commission stressed the dangers of a too early

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specialization and the impossibility of giving satisfactory technical instruction to pupils who had not been adequately grounded in the ordinary school subjects. The same view had finally occurred to the Department of Science and Art, which in its Directory of 1894 stated that in preparing the time-table "provision should be made for instruction in those literary subjects which were essential for a good general education."³⁹ The Technical Instruction Act (1889) had defined technical instruction as not only the teaching of science, but also "any other forms of instruction (including modern languages and commercial and agricultural subjects) which, for the time being, may be sanctioned by the Science and Art Department."⁴⁰ The Department was therefore within its rights in aiding non-scientific subjects, and by the end of the century it was sanctioning every subject except Classics.

Meanwhile Michael Sadler, the newly appointed Director of Special Inquiries and Reports, was being given a free hand by Sir George Kekewich, the Secretary of the Education Department, in stimulating public interest in education. The first three volumes of Special Reports, published in 1897 and 1898 under Sadler's editorship, contained no fewer than sixty-seven authoritative essays by recognized experts, all bearing directly or indirectly on the problems that were engaging attention in this country at the time. Sadler made a special point of securing reliable information on the secondary school systems of other countries, and on the education of girls and women both in this country and abroad. These reports were very widely read and discussed, and did much to remove suspicions of central control and ensure that the Board of Education would receive a cordial welcome.

CHAPTER II

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION AND THE CONTROL OF ITS POLICY

I CONSTITUTION AND POWERS OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

THE first step towards a unified State system was taken on 1st April 1900, when the Board of Education Act (1899) ¹ became law.

Section 1 (1) laid down briefly that "There shall be established a Board of Education charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales." The Board was to consist of a President, the Lord President of the Council (unless he combined the two offices), the Principal Secretaries of State, the head of the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but as no meeting of this august body has ever taken place, "The Board of Education" has come to mean the President and his permanent officials, or more often the permanent officials alone.

Under Section 2 the Board took the place of the Education Department, the Science and Art Department, and the Charity Commission so far as it was concerned with education. Unfortunately, "the Board was no new set of officials, for the replaced departments were simply absorbed and renamed. But under the Board fresh organization could be undertaken, without the overlapping of the previously independent sections." ² Full ministerial responsibility for the Board was vested in the President, who might be a member of the House of Commons, and would later have the assistance of a Parliamentary Secretary (Section 8 (1)).

By Section 3 (1) the Board were permitted to "inspect any school supplying secondary education and desiring to be so inspected."

CONTROL OF POLICY

2 THE PROPOSED EDUCATIONAL COUNCIL

The Act followed the main lines suggested by the Bryce Commission, with one important exception. The Commission had reached the conclusion that "the highest authority for education ought to be an *educational authority* in the highest sense, *i.e.* an authority which understands it, not only on its legislative and administrative sides, but also on its actual and practical, *i.e.* as it is in the schools, for the masters, and in the associations and institutions which garner their experience, shape their minds, and formulate their ideals." ³ The problem was to find the means by which the responsible Minister could be best informed and aided "without having his authority in any way restricted or his responsibility lessened," ⁴ and the solution they proposed was contained in the following passage :

Most of the work to be assigned to the new central office would, naturally, be despatched by the Minister and his departmental staff in the usual way. There will be some matters, however, in which the counsel of persons specially conversant with education and holding an independent position, may be so helpful, and there will be some duties in their nature so distinctly judicial rather than executive, as to make it desirable to secure for the Minister the advice of persons not under his official direction. There will, moreover, be some work to be done in a Central Educational Department, so purely professional, as to belong rather to an independent body than to a Department of State. For these purposes we propose that there be created an Educational Council, which may advise the Minister in the first-mentioned class of matters, and in appeals, while such a purely professional function as the registration of teachers might be entirely committed to it. We do not advocate such a council [they were careful to add] on the ground that it will relieve a Minister of responsibility, for we conceive that the responsibility, both for general policy and for the control of administrative details ought to be his and his alone ; but we believe that the unwillingness which doubtless exists in some quarters to entrust to the Executive any powers at all in this branch of Education [*i.e.* secondary] would be sensibly diminished were his position at once strengthened and guarded by the addition of a number of independent advisers. ⁵

The Commission suggested that the Council should not exceed twelve members, and should consist of three equal groups :

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representatives of the Crown, the universities, and the teaching profession.

There can be little doubt that such a council would have exercised a profound and beneficial influence on educational policy. The Commission had found a remarkable unanimity among teachers in favour of such a council, "and in this they had the support of so experienced an Inspector as Mr. Fitch." "On the other hand," they had to admit, "doubt of its expediency, or anxious restriction of its scope, or explicit objection to it under any form, proceeded from officials, politicians, or jurists." ⁶

3 THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

The Educational Council, under the less imposing name of the Consultative Committee, was actually provided for in the Board of Education Act (1899), largely, it would seem, as a sop to the headmasters of public schools, who, as the Headmasters' Conference, were the most influential professional body outside the State schools. They feared, not without reason,* that the Board would curtail their independence, and had strongly recommended an educational council which the Minister was bound to consult on all developments of policy. The authors of the Act, however, so arranged the wording that the Consultative Committee became in practice only a standing departmental committee. The Minister is under no obligation to consult it, and it cannot even choose the subjects it considers. From time to time a fresh subject is referred to the Committee. This it proceeds to investigate, submitting its report two or more years later. During the whole of that period, though it can call on the full resources of the Board in the prosecution of its inquiry, and may interview any of the Board's officers, from the Permanent Secretary

* See B.C.R., Vol. I, p. 257. The proposed functions of the central authority were to include "some measure of jurisdiction over those important educational foundations which, being used by the country generally, cannot properly be subjected to local jurisdiction"—*i.e.* the non-local public schools and the ancient universities.

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downwards, it has no official connections with the Board. These are limited to the receiving of a subject and the submission of a report on that subject. On at least one occasion, however, the Board has gone to the Consultative Committee for advice on some other matter ; but there is no evidence of their having followed the advice given.

All attempts by members of the Committee to widen its powers have failed, and it seems that the Board's officers have always been reluctant to have consultation imposed on them. Naturally they prefer to be independent, and as the Board never meets and most of the Presidents are transitory phantoms, the doings of the officers are not checked.

4 LACK OF MINISTERIAL CONTROL AND ITS DAMAGING EFFECT

The above reference to the Presidents of the Board voices an opinion that is widely held by administrators and teachers. Sir Graham Balfour, writing in 1921, spoke of the distaste excited in the breasts of successive Presidents. "Their duties were at once controversial and wearisome. For the administration of education, much more than education itself, seems to have had the power of raising in the breasts of politicians of all parties more anger, hatred, and uncharitableness than any other subject." ⁷ At first the Board of Education Act, which rendered possible the policy of having the chief representative of national education in the House of Commons, "seemed only to have substituted for a mere figurehead some active politician with less interest in education than in his own promotion to some more popular office." Like the earlier figureheads, the Presidents were little known and less remembered. "But in 1917 the opportunity of education came at last, and the nation secured an able and enlightened expert who turned out to be a born parliamentarian." Elsewhere he speaks of Mr. Fisher, to whom these words refer, as a "heaven-sent Minister of Education." "But take them all in all," Sir Graham concludes, "parliamentary connection

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with education has conferred little prestige upon most of its representatives.”⁸

Since these words were written there have been thirteen changes of President, but with the exception of Lord Eustace Percy, a man with Macaulay's ability to master details, and Sir Charles Trevelyan, the thirteen appear to have exercised little influence on the trend of educational policy. No real proof of this can be adduced, as the dealings of each President with the permanent staff remain a secret; but it is fair to assume that no President without a long and intimate connection with education could greatly influence policy within two years of taking up office. And as no President since Fisher, except Sir Charles Trevelyan, has had this previous experience and none but Lord Eustace Percy has held office for more than two years, it seems reasonable to conclude that in the period 1902-42 Fisher, Trevelyan, and Percy alone affected the Board's policy to any marked extent.

Since the “Board” never meet, since the President is usually a figurehead, and since the permanent staff are not obliged to consult anyone, it follows that the policy of the Board rests mainly in the hands of these officials. But so long as this state of affairs continues, the prestige of the Board cannot be high, if only because of the Englishman's rooted distrust of bureaucracy. Examples of the patronizing and almost contemptuous attitude which teachers' associations have in consequence adopted towards the Board have often appeared in the Press. The presidential address of the London Teachers' Association for 1939 was a typical instance. After criticizing the Board as being “to all practical purposes a lifeless body which never meets and never sits”—an accurate if misleading statement—Miss Ella Cohn proceeded to dispose of the President. “I suggest that when he speaks it is not with the tongues of angels but only of the Permanent Secretariat.” The “only” is, of course, the operative word.⁹ That London teachers had been smarting under a criticism of general administrative inefficiency thrown off casually by a Minister who had already vacated the President's chair, is beside the point. What is important is that the anomalous position both

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of the "Board" and of the President lays them open to attack, and by lowering the prestige of the Board undermines their efforts to improve education.

5 EDUCATION A NON-PARTY MATTER

Since 1906, when the Liberal attempt to repeal the 1902 Act failed, education has been to an increasing extent outside the sphere of party politics. A change of Government has sometimes meant a change of emphasis, as in 1924 and again in 1929-1931, when the Labour Government increased certain grants and maintenance allowances. But these changes have in almost every case merely had the effect of hastening reforms on the desirability of which there was general agreement. It has therefore been possible for the high officials at the Board to maintain considerable continuity in the Board's educational policy, though the unsettled state of the world has constantly hampered their efforts to put this policy into practice.

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CHAPTER III

ROBERT MORANT AND THE EDUCATION ACTS OF 1899 AND 1902

No account of the Education Acts of 1899 and 1902 can be complete which does not attempt to trace the influence upon them of Robert Morant, even though this means breaking the rule of anonymity which normally protects a Civil Servant. Morant, however, was no ordinary Civil Servant, and by his disregard for Civil Service tradition he may perhaps be held to have forfeited the right to anonymity.

I THE COCKERTON CASE

In the course of his work under Sadler at the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, Morant had rapidly acquired a thorough insight into the general state of English education, as described in Chapter I. But his passion for getting to the bottom of things led him to pursue his researches much deeper than the ordinary work of the office demanded. In 1897, while patiently investigating the early history of higher grade schools, which the School Boards were setting up in increasing numbers, Morant made the startling discovery that these schools, which had been warmly encouraged for the previous seven years by his own chief, Sir George Kekewich, rested on no legal basis whatever.

Though Sir John Gorst's Bill had recently failed, Morant knew that it was only a matter of time before another attempt would be made to implement the Bryce Commission Report and settle the vexed question as to who should be the local authority for secondary education—the numerous School Boards, the county councils, or some fresh body. To a born administrator like Morant the county councils were the obvious answer, not only on account of the greater size of the areas they administered, but because secondary education would

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thus be brought into the main stream of local finance. But every year the number of higher grade schools supplying a form of secondary education was on the increase, and he realized that the longer this went on the harder it would be to persuade the School Boards to hand over their powers to the county councils.

Since his chief was at this time claiming that higher grade schools were an absolute necessity, there was apparently nothing that Morant, then a very junior official, could do but keep silent about his discovery, or else resign his position before publishing it. Morant did neither. About this time he was writing an official report on Swiss education, and into this he slipped his discovery in the course of a note comparing Swiss with English education. His calculation that neither Sir George Kekewich nor his immediate chief, Sadler, would notice what he had done proved correct. The report was published without alteration. But if the keen eye of Sadler could pass over the all-important reference, what chance was there that others would notice it? Morant was taking no chances. He not only drew the attention of his friend Dr. Garnett, the secretary of the London Technical Education Committee, to the passage, but contrived to introduce an emissary of Garnett's into the library of the Education Department, where he helped him to look up the facts.

Garnett promptly used Morant's bombshell in a case he was preparing against the London School Board, and as a result Mr. T. Barclay Cockerton, the District Auditor, surcharged the Board's expenditure on higher grade schools. The London School Board took the matter to the Queen's Bench and on to the Court of Appeal, but without avail. The Court of Appeal upheld Cockerton's view that the School Board had no right to apply any portion of the school funds to a form of education for which the Science and Art Department was responsible.

There can be no doubt that this decision, which meant the end of the higher grade schools as such, not only hastened the Act of 1902, but cleared the ground for what Morant believed would be a comprehensive system of secondary

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schools.¹ There can equally be no doubt that the Cockerton judgment delayed reorganization on Hadow lines by at least fifteen years, and was largely responsible for the neglect of technical education which persists to this day. Let Mr. Lowndes sum up :

Mr. Morant's strategy had been learnt in Siam, and looked at from the point of view of strategy alone this ruthless and apparently premeditated indiscretion was a master-stroke, purchased at a price which it has taken educated opinion thirty-five years to appreciate, and regret. Looked at from the point of view of modern civil service ethics, it is better to admit frankly that it seems to have been an astonishing step for a comparatively junior official to have taken.²

2 ADVISER TO SIR JOHN GORST

In July 1899, the same month in which Mr. Cockerton set the legal machine in operation by surcharging the London School Board on seven different heads,³ Morant had been lent to Sir John Gorst, Vice-President of the Committee of Council for Education, at his special request, to advise him while he was piloting the Board of Education Bill through Parliament. Gorst was so impressed by Morant's deep knowledge and unmistakable ability that when the Bill passed into law he kept him on as his private secretary. Officially, however, Morant remained attached to the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports until August 1900, when he was promoted to a titular Senior Examinership under the new secondary school branch which Gorst sent him to help organize at South Kensington.⁴

At the "khaki" election, which was fought in the following month on the question of the South African War, Lord Salisbury was returned again with a large majority. But the war and the Cockerton case, which dragged on into 1901, combined to postpone the introduction of a Bill which, by creating local authorities responsible for secondary education, would complement the Board of Education Act.

When, in April 1901, the Cockerton judgment had finally

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been endorsed, a one-clause Bill had to be rushed through Parliament to enable the illegal schools and classes to keep open pending a more comprehensive measure. On Morant's suggestion this Bill only sanctioned the continuance of these schools and classes for one year, and it was clear that the Government would shortly introduce a Bill to make the county and county borough councils the local authorities.

The Cabinet now commissioned Morant to prepare a memorandum explaining the problems which would have to be settled in the next year, and not long afterwards Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons, invited him to prepare the draft of a new Bill for the next Parliamentary session.⁵

3 SADLER'S ANXIETY

During Morant's meteoric rise to power Sadler had continued with unabated enthusiasm to guide and stimulate public interest in education, but at heart he must have felt uneasy. Owing to a divergence of views on the question of local authorities for secondary education, both his chief, Sir George Kekewich, for whom he had a great admiration, and he himself had been set on one side by Gorst during the passage of the Board of Education Act in favour of a junior in his own department whose policy conflicted with that of his chief and had undermined a form of post-primary education by the future of which Sadler set the greatest store.

To one who believed, as Sadler did, in the free development of varying forms of secondary education to meet varying needs, the destruction of higher grade schools must have seemed a major disaster.

4 THE BALFOUR-MORANT ACT, 1902 *

Once more Morant was lent to a Minister who was piloting a Bill through Parliament. This time, however, it was a Bill he had himself planned, and the Minister was A. J. Balfour, who was appointed Prime Minister before the Bill became law. The Bill received its final reading on 24th March 1902,

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but so bitter was the opposition it aroused, both inside and outside the House, to the proposal that the secular instruction in voluntary schools should be put on the rates, that it was not until 20th December that it was finally placed on the Statute Book.

The main provisions of the Education Act, 1902, which laid the foundation of the modern educational system, are here briefly enumerated and discussed.

Part I created new local authorities. "For the purpose of this Act the Council of every County and of every County Borough shall be the local education authority." Part II explained their powers and duties to aid higher education. Part III explained their powers and duties as to elementary education. Part IV dealt mainly with education committees and finance.

Unfortunately, as it has turned out, the Act made a special concession to local feeling as embodied in the now superseded School Boards by appointing the councils of non-county boroughs with a population of over 10,000, and of urban districts with a population of over 20,000 local education authorities for the purpose of Part III of the Act, in other words for elementary education only. These Part III authorities, as they are called, were also allowed to supply or assist higher education to the extent of a penny rate, but the responsibility for higher education lay with the county council, or Part II authority, in whose area they were situated.

Responsibility for higher education was placed upon the local education authorities in the following words :

2 (1). The local education authority shall consider the educational needs of their area and take such steps as seem to them desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary, and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education.

The creation of local education authorities, or L.E.A.'s, elected for general purposes of local government, in place of *ad hoc* authorities with no other responsibilities, was announced as follows :

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5. The local education authority shall throughout their area have the powers and duties of a school board and school attendance committee under the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1900 . . . and shall also be responsible for and have control of all secular instruction in public elementary schools not provided by them, and school boards and school attendance committees shall be abolished.

By Section 7 the managers of non-provided schools were obliged to "provide the school house free of any charge . . . to the local education authority for use as a public elementary school, and shall, out of funds provided by them, keep the school house in good repair, and make such alterations and improvements in the buildings as may be reasonably required by the local education authority." * The L.E.A. were, however, to be responsible for any damage they considered due to "fair wear and tear."

In return for the loan of the school house to the L.E.A. for secular instruction, the managers of non-provided schools were allowed to retain the highly prized right of controlling the religious instruction, which was to be "in accordance with the provisions (if any) of the trust deed." As a corollary, the managers also retained the right of choosing their teachers, which made it possible for them to secure men and women of their own denomination willing and able to give religious instruction according to their wishes. But the L.E.A. could veto the appointment of a teacher "on educational grounds," and could also veto the dismissal of a teacher unless it was "on grounds connected with the giving of religious instruction in the school." The old Conscience Clause,⁷ by which Nonconformist parents, who often had no alternative but to send their children to a Church of England school, were at liberty to withhold their children from religious instruction, remained in force.

These provisions, which settled for forty years the problem of whether the Church schools should be incorporated in the State system, were most objectionable to the Nonconformists, many of whom would have preferred to see the 14,000 de-

* This arrangement has a special bearing on the Education Act (1936), which will be described later in Chapter XIX.

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nominal schools swept away rather than that their maintenance should be put on the rates. At the building costs then current, Mr. Balfour calculated,⁸ £27,000,000 would have been required to replace the denominational schools with new council schools where the religious instruction would be given on undenominational lines. This was only a tenth of the total cost of the Boer War, but with income tax at 1s. 3d. in the £ such a solution was out of the question. In any case, it would have been most unfair to dispossess the Churches, who had been the pioneers of elementary education and had made enormous sacrifices in order to keep their schools going. But no other solution than the one adopted would have satisfied the Churches, who without rate aid would have had to close down the schools in increasing numbers.⁹

For our present purpose the Nonconformist attitude to the 1902 Act is important because it led to widespread passive resistance, which took the form of a refusal to pay rates. According to Lowndes,¹⁰ 70,000 prosecutions for non-payment followed, and it was some years before the Act was accepted in Wales, the Nonconformist stronghold. This opposition had the effect of slowing down progress under the Act in many areas during the only ten-year period since the establishment of the Board in which uninterrupted progress has been possible.

5 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BOARD AND THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES

With the passing of the Act of 1902 a new era in English education began. Later Acts have increased both the duties and the powers of local authorities and made adjustments in their relationship with the central authority, but in essentials the framework set up in 1902 has remained unaltered.

The Act embodied the idea that the service of public education should be a specific function of ordinary local government as reorganized by the Act of 1888, that in every area there should be

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a local authority primarily responsible for the provision, organization, and administration of public education, amenable, through electoral processes, to the influence of the ratepayers.¹¹

Moreover, since the new local authorities for elementary education were only 333 in number, as compared with the 18,000 School Boards and bodies of managers which had hitherto acted independently, the chances of comprehensive and efficient schemes being worked out and set in operation were enormously increased.

The Act of 1899 laid on the Board the duty of general superintendence. In the sphere of elementary education they merely continued the work of superintendence formerly carried out by the Education Department. But even after the Act of 1902 they could not in the sphere of higher education be said to "superintend," since, apart from the obligatory application of "whiskey money,"¹² no specific duty to provide higher education was imposed on local authorities. The Board were thus mainly in the position of consultant.

Historically the dominant function of the central authority for education has always been to obtain grants from Parliament, and then hand them over for the support of education either direct to the schools or to organizations responsible for them. The Board's entire authority rests ultimately on its power to withhold or reduce the grants. In this case, however, the power of the purse is nearly always effective. Only in one or two instances has a local authority been both rich enough and bold enough to dispense with the Board's grants. These amount nowadays to not less than 50 per cent. on all recognized expenditure, and have reached the colossal total of about £50,000,000 a year.

But if few authorities are prepared to defy the Board openly, there are many who resist passively, and by taking advantage of the Board's natural reluctance to resort to extreme measures manage to put off necessary improvements for a considerable length of time without loss of grant.

The Board's chief limitations, some of them self-imposed, have been as follows :

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1. The Board do not provide, manage, or administer schools.
2. They have no direct authority over universities, nor over schools conducted for private profit.
3. They have no right to engage, pay, promote, or dismiss teachers.
4. They do not prescribe or proscribe text-books, though they may criticize them through their Inspectors.
5. They cannot interpret Acts of Parliament or settle points of law, but must use the law courts.
6. They cannot dissolve and replace inefficient education authorities.¹⁸

CHAPTER IV

THE CLASH OF IDEALS

I THE NEW PERMANENT SECRETARY

WHEN, on the conclusion of the South African War,¹ Balfour succeeded Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister and was forming his new Cabinet, he took the opportunity of appointing Lord Londonderry as President of the Board of Education. This action, by Section 1 (5) of the Act of 1899, brought the Board officially into being. At the same time Balfour appointed Sir William Anson as Parliamentary Secretary, which meant the retirement of Sir John Gorst, the former Vice-President.

Lord Londonderry's first task was to recommend a Permanent Secretary for the Board. Kekewich, the Secretary of the superseded Education Department, was meanwhile carrying on, but Londonderry did not form a favourable opinion of his fitness for the formidable task ahead, and Kekewich was, in any case, due to retire on 1st April 1903. What Londonderry wanted was a really good man who should replace Kekewich at once, so that all arrangements might be complete and ready for the administration of the new Bill directly it became law. In his view Morant was the man for the job, and he therefore recommended him to Balfour.²

Morant was, indeed, the most obvious choice, for he was the recognized authority on the Education Bill and was proving invaluable to Balfour during the fierce struggle in Parliament, which was by no means yet over. Sadler was the only other man of suitable age and first-class ability who had, in his own words, "enjoyed equal opportunities of studying English education at a historic crisis of change."³ At a distance of nearly forty years it is perhaps easier to estimate the part played by Sadler with his splendid series of reports in educating Parliamentary opinion to the necessity for comprehensive legislation. To Balfour and Londonderry he may have seemed

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too much of the scholar, and to lack the administrative abilities for which they were looking. Sadler's subsequent record in other educational fields proved him to be not only a brilliant administrator but a great educationist, and those who have heard him talk on education cannot fail to regret that the bright light of his genius never illuminated the Board of Education from the chair of the Permanent Secretary. On 1st October, six months before he was due to retire, Kekewich was given six months' leave of absence on full pay, and Morant was made Acting Secretary.

During the next two months Morant was mainly occupied in helping the Education Bill through its last and most difficult stage, but he was already laying his plans for the future. He was confident of his ability to weld three independent and mutually antagonistic departments, one of which was housed at the other end of London, into a coherent and efficient administrative machine. There was only one difficulty: his former chief, Sadler, Director of Special Inquiries and Reports.

2 SPECIAL INQUIRIES AND REPORTS

Sadler had attained a large measure of independence in the previous seven years and, despite financial restrictions, was rapidly and skilfully widening the scope of his office. It was hardly to be expected, however, that a man of Morant's forceful nature would welcome an *imperium in imperio*, especially when Sadler's educational ideals differed fundamentally from his own.

Hitherto Sadler's proposals for new reports had been accepted as a matter of course, but in February 1903 Morant seems to have persuaded the Parliamentary Secretary to veto a proposed report on Italian education. Sadler protested to Morant, who said he thought the Italian report unnecessary, and also six other reports which Sadler had suggested. Sadler, however, took the matter to the President, and gained permission for the Italian report, but not for the others. Sadler then prepared a memorandum entitled "Notes on the Work and Needs of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports

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attached to the Board of Education." The accompanying minute illustrates the breadth of Sadler's outlook and shows also that he had seized on the vital truth, that the successful working of the new Acts would largely depend on the way in which the Board handled the joint problems of intelligence and publicity. Sadler wrote :

The office of Special Inquiries and Reports is the Intelligence Department of the Board of Education. The need for an Intelligence Department at the Board of Education is as great as at the War Office or Admiralty. Industrial and commercial rivalry under modern conditions is largely governed by comparative educational efficiency. It is, therefore, necessary that Great Britain should know, accurately and quickly, what educational advances are being made by the commercial and industrial competitors in Europe and America. The Intelligence Department at the Board of Education has the duty (1) of giving information to the Board on educational matters referred to it by the Board for inquiry and report, and (2) of publishing accurate information on educational methods and developments at home and abroad, for the guidance of public opinion, and for the help of local education authorities, teachers, governing bodies of schools, etc.

The work of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports is likely to be more needed than ever during the next few years, when new local education authorities all over the country will be dealing with difficult questions of education (commercial, secondary, domestic, etc.), in regard to which they will be helped by clear and practical accounts of successful experience in dealing with similar problems elsewhere. . . .

The Office has been seriously overworked for many years. The Director's request for more help has been three times refused since January 1900. It has now become impossible for him to maintain the Intelligence Department at its necessary level of efficiency for the supply of important and well-digested information without further aid.⁴

The fact is that Sadler was far ahead of his time in his appreciation of the value to the Board of good publicity. When the Treasury had originally sanctioned the creation of his office a significant sentence was included in the minute :

[My Lords] cannot but feel that the work now to be entrusted to the new branch is liable to almost indefinite extension, unless limits to its activity are resolutely imposed and maintained.

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This grudging attitude towards educational progress which involved increased expenditure was not unlike that of a pursued father refusing to increase the allowance of an extravagant son at Oxford. But the head of a Government department, like the undergraduate son, if he can prove that an increase is essential, will in the end secure what he wants ; and it may be surmised that Morant, had he so wished, could have secured sufficient funds to enlarge Sadler's office considerably.

3 THE BROAD VIEW OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

That he did not so wish, it has been suggested above, was due both to his dislike of having a man with a semi-independent commission attached to his department and to his realization that Sadler's educational ideals differed fundamentally from his own. Sadler's pointed references to the educational basis of industrial and commercial success and to the necessity for up-to-date information about the educational advances of our chief foreign competitors show unmistakably that, undismayed by the destruction of the higher grade schools, he was still pressing for the general acceptance of the Bryce Commission's view of secondary education as equivalent to post-primary in the widest sense.

In the first volume of *Special Reports on Educational Subjects* (1896-97),⁵ after showing that the educational problems of England and Germany were at bottom the same, Sadler had entered into a full description of the aims and work of two new types of modern Latin-less school—the Realschule and the Ober-Realschule—which had been set up in Prussia since 1882 within the framework of secondary education.

The first thing which impresses itself on the visitor to the Berlin Realschulen is that they keep before them, at every point of their work, the ideal of a liberal education. They are not commercial schools, nor industrial schools. They aim at turning out well-educated boys, trained in habits of application, well-equipped with knowledge, and qualified to address themselves, with good hope of success, to the duty of learning the trade or profession in which they intend to seek a livelihood. The curriculum

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as has been seen, is purely a modern one. Latin and Greek are excluded. But natural science does not predominate in the scheme of work. The stress is laid on linguistic and literary (including religious and historical) studies, while mathematics, natural science, and drawing receive considerable attention. The aim of the school is to draw the subject-matter of instruction very largely from those spheres of knowledge which are nearest to the pupil's present experience and to his probable career ; to train his reasoning powers and the habit of quick and accurate observation, and at the same time to cultivate the faculty of exact and appropriate expression. . . . The schools do not impart what would be called, in the narrow sense of the term, technical education. But they do fit their pupils to acquire very quickly on leaving school an accurate and intelligent knowledge of their business.⁶

So far from interfering with the work of the older-established classical schools, Sadler found that the modern schools had " actually been a relief to the Gymnasien by drawing away from the latter a number of boys who, though not necessarily stupid, were intellectually unfitted for the classical training and more naturally interested in modern subjects." ⁷

The new movement, he recorded, was gaining adherents " not only among those who were ignorant of what the older tradition can accomplish at its best, but from the ranks of men who have themselves been trained on classical lines, and who are bound by every tie of loyalty and instinctive preference to do nothing to weaken influences which they have found in their own experience to be good." ⁸

Sadler's proposals in February 1903 for a new set of reports on foreign educational systems showed that he was still straining every nerve to ensure that in the administering of the new Acts schools of the modern type were included within the framework of secondary education.

4 THE NARROW VIEW, BASED ON FAULTY PSYCHOLOGY

Morant, on the other hand, whose feeling of loyalty for Winchester was as profound as it was uncritical, had a passionate desire to see the classical education he had himself enjoyed thrown open to the masses. He did not stop to consider whether such an education would best suit children of widely

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varying abilities and circumstances. He did not think of the problem in that way, as his whole outlook was coloured by the popular "faculty" psychology, which though it had already received from Thorndike and Woodworth what has been described as its death-blow,¹⁰ persisted obstinately in educational thought for many years.¹¹

According to "faculty" psychology the mind was divided into a number of separate faculties: memory, judgment, attention, and so on. For instance, it was held that the faculty of memory enabled us to memorize everything, from words or numbers to faces, and that skill gained by practice in one sphere would necessarily transfer to another.

When the traditional subjects lost touch with the changing conditions of life and, with the rise of vernacular languages, their once obvious utilitarian value of preparing boys for the learned professions had largely disappeared, teachers of these subjects, in seeking to justify them, hit on faculty psychology as a useful weapon of defence. They now claimed for their subjects that, though not useful in the ordinary sense, they had an invaluable "disciplinary" effect, improving and strengthening the various faculties of the mind so that pupils left school fully equipped to tackle any problem in any other field. Some identified particular faculties with particular subjects of the school curriculum, and resisted the introduction of new subjects on the ground that they lacked the disciplinary value of the old ones. Others went so far as to say that the less the pupils liked their lessons, the more good they were deriving from them.

The results of Thorndike's experiments, which he repeated in a greatly improved form in 1922-23, undeniably show that the "transfer of training" is not nearly so easy to detect as it should be, if it occurred to the extent formerly claimed.¹² It follows that, other things being equal, preference should be given to subjects useful in themselves. If Latin is to be retained in the curriculum, it must stand on its own feet and be its own justification from day to day. For those who cannot devote more than three or four years to the subject, new courses, complete and interesting in themselves, must be

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thought out. Where this cannot be arranged, Latin must be restricted to the select few who can go far and fast enough along the familiar road to enjoy the journey and gain some at least of the rewards it offers.

Teachers, however, know from experience that transfer does frequently occur. The problem is to discover the conditions under which its occurrence is most likely. "The general conclusion to which most recent investigations have been led," writes Professor Burt, "is that transfer of training may be most effectively ensured when the methods or the ideals learnt during the training period are made clearly *conscious* and so freed of their context."¹³

Prof. Godfrey H. Thomson has been even more explicit, saying, "If each and every subject is taught as a page or chapter of the universal subject 'how to think,' and the principles of 'how to think' are constantly and consciously appealed to, transfer appears to be much more probable."¹⁴ In other words, it is on the attitude of mind produced in the pupil that the likelihood of transfer rests, and this in turn depends on the method, perhaps even more than on the content, of the instruction, though it is essential to arouse the pupil's active interest in his work.

On the side of character Dr. Thomson believes transfer to be still more certain. Not that transfer is ever inevitable. But there can be little doubt that unselfishness, courage, and good sportsmanship can be transferred from school life to life in general, provided that they have value as ideals.

5 VICTORY OF THE NARROW VIEW

Morant, however, fully believed in the disciplinary value of certain subjects irrespective of their appeal to the pupil or of the methods of presentation, and he had no intention or encouraging alternative forms of secondary education which dispensed with Latin. Sadler's independent reports were thus a source of embarrassment to him, and he resolved in future to see that nothing which did not fit in with his own ideas was published.

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On 31st March 1903, the day before he took charge of the Board officially as Permanent Secretary, Morant wrote the following in a minute to Sadler :

These reports should be limited in character to such as are really important for the purposes of the Board . . . selection and compression should be more largely brought into play than heretofore. . . . It cannot be too clearly impressed upon you that the work of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports is done, and must be done, for the benefit of the Board, at the instance of the Board and under the direction of the Board.¹⁵

Sadler pointed out that much of his work was of the nature of scientific research, and could not be subordinated to purely administrative aims. He also appealed to the President, but in vain. His position was now intolerable, and on 11th May he announced his resignation in the Press, "the point at issue being proposals which in his judgment would impair the scientific value and thoroughness as well as the practical efficiency of the work of his Office."

For the next eight years Morant reigned supreme at the Board of Education.

PART TWO (1904-1914)

CHAPTER V

THE CENTRAL MACHINERY

I A RACE WITH TIME

MORANT now began working against time to put the 1902 Act into full operation. The Liberals were pledged to repeal it, but he realized that their chances of success would be greatly lessened if the Act were already being successfully administered when they returned to power.¹ Early in 1906 their opportunity came, but so well had Morant laboured in the short interval that no attempts were made to reinstate the School Boards, and the county and county borough councils were left as the local authorities for all grades of education.

The Liberals concentrated their energies on an attempt to sweep away the Church schools by denying them a share in either State grants or rate-aid, and so forcing them to hand themselves over to the local authorities. Morant co-operated loyally, though he must have seen that the extra cost of maintaining or replacing Church schools would seriously handicap local authorities in their attempts to remedy the shortage of secondary (grammar) schools. The Bill eventually passed through the Commons, but was so drastically altered by the House of Lords that the Government refused to proceed with it, and the great Act of 1902 was left undisturbed.²

2 WELDING THREE DEPARTMENTS INTO ONE

In building up the administrative machinery of the Board, Morant's hands were, to a great extent, tied. He could not start by making a large number of fresh appointments. He

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had instead to take over the staffs of the three existing departments *en bloc* and do what he could to make them work effectively and harmoniously together. To secure this object it was necessary to define clearly the functions of each branch and see that, in future, there was no overlapping or poaching. In view of their embittered relations in the past, it would have been courting disaster to put the Technical Branch (the old Science and Art Department) under the Secondary Branch (formerly controlled by the Charity Commissioners). If he wished, he could undoubtedly have co-ordinated them as administering parallel types of secondary education in its wider sense ; but it would have been far from easy to secure harmony between the two branches, had he brought them into this more intimate relationship. The Elementary Branch was simply the former Education Department under a new name, and continued with its previous work. Since the Cockerton judgment the likelihood of overlapping with "secondary" education was small, for though "Higher Elementary Schools" were officially sanctioned in 1900, their sphere was limited, and for various reasons, to be explained later, only a few were recognized.

3 GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

Each of the three main branches of the Board was now organized on a geographical basis, each sub-division being responsible for all schools under the control of the branch in a particular area. Morant, however, set up machinery for consultation and co-operation between the three branches, so that, according to Selby-Bigge, "the Board was enabled to operate through a coherent staff designed to respond organically to the activities of local authorities, receiving from and communicating to them the stimulus of progressive development." *

4 THE INSPECTORATE

In reorganizing the Inspectorate, Morant took the greatest care to choose experienced headmasters and educationists to be his new "secondary" inspectors, and he made it a rule

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throughout the Inspectorate to assign each officer to the particular type of school with which he was best acquainted. In this way he arranged that each of the three main branches had its own body of Inspectors, who were so distributed geographically as to correspond with the internal sub-divisions of the branches. There were two further groups of Inspectors to supervise the training of teachers and the work of art schools. Women Inspectors were appointed for the first time, "to undertake inspection and inquiry into all matters especially needing the scrutiny and advice of a woman." ⁴ This was a great advance on the old days when a conscientious Inspector had to bring home specimens of needlework from the schools for his wife to pass judgment on them.*

* This was the practice of the author's father, the late A. P. Graves, H.M.I.

CHAPTER VI

FINANCIAL OBSTACLES

MORANT's hands were also tied when he came to shape the Board's educational policy. Though all the available funds were not "irretrievably sunk" in the maintenance of elementary and technical education, the additional sums which Parliament could place, so soon after a costly war, at the disposal of the Board for the creation of a coherent national system of education were strictly limited, and not nearly enough for the purpose. Morant, as was to be expected, decided to apply the bulk of this extra money to the filling up of the most serious gaps in "secondary" education.

This policy of putting all its spare eggs in one, or at most two, baskets has since then been repeatedly forced upon the Board by stress of circumstances. Before the expansion of "secondary" education was nearly complete, the War of 1914-18 came to hinder progress. During a brief post-war lull Mr. Fisher solved the urgent problem of teachers' salaries. Almost immediately came a severe slump and with it the Geddes "axe." As soon as the worst was over, Lord Eustace Percy gave his blessing to Hadow reorganization and turned his attention to deficiencies in technical education; but before long a slump of even greater severity slowed down progress in both fields. No sooner had Hadow reorganization been vigorously resumed than a policy of rapid rearmament was forced upon the Government, and three-year programmes had to be cut down and spread over a period of six years. The growing threat of war obliged the Board to place a ban on further expansion in secondary (grammar) schools, so that local authorities might concentrate on providing sufficient places in modern schools. Even this limited objective was not nearly reached when Hitler's war began and put an

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end to all but the most urgent plans for new school buildings.

At no time in the past forty years have the Board been in a position to abandon this piecemeal policy, a fact which should be borne constantly in mind when assessing their contribution to educational progress.

CHAPTER VII

LOCAL SURVEYS

IN putting the entire responsibility for all branches of education on the local authorities, the Government were undoubtedly taking a big risk. However efficient the central machinery might be, the success of the system depended ultimately on the degree of readiness, energy, and open-mindedness with which the local authorities set to work. The reports of the Board for this period are not very reliable evidence on this matter, as their chief aim was to encourage local authorities, and in consequence they were liberal with their praise, hoping thereby to stimulate the less energetic into activity. The report for 1903-4 sounded a most cheerful note: "Throughout the greater part of the country the local authorities have undertaken the work assigned to them, and are carrying out their responsible duties, not merely with energy and goodwill, but with tact and consideration towards the various bodies with whom they were brought into relation." ¹

Two preliminary steps were necessary in each area before any advance could be made. First of all the local authority had to fix an appointed day on which they would take over ⁴ their new responsibilities, and secondly they were to make a survey of the educational needs of the area and, in consultation with the Board, plan a comprehensive scheme of development. "On 1st August 1904," the Board were able to report, "the Act had come into force in the area of every local education authority, with the exception of three counties, two boroughs, and one urban district, and even in the case of these six authorities the appointed days have been fixed and the Act will come into operation by or before the end of September." ²

London, which owing to its great size presented a special problem, had been exempted from the Act of 1902, but after a good deal of argument the Education (London) Act, which

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made the London County Council responsible for the whole London area, became law in August 1903, and on 1st May 1904 the L.C.C. had assumed its duties. By 1st October 1903, therefore, the first preliminary step was complete, and everything now depended on the second.

It was clearly a job which could be safely entrusted only to an expert; but what experts were there competent to undertake the task, and would the local authorities call them in? There was one man pre-eminently fitted for the task, Michael Sadler, who had severed his connection with the Board in May 1903, and was now Professor of the History and Administration of Education at the University of Manchester. The more enlightened authorities turned at once to Sadler, and he rose magnificently to the occasion. "During the same years," he wrote long afterwards of his time as a professor, "in conjunction with a small group of experienced colleagues, all of whom had close knowledge of English secondary schools and of their product, I had the privilege of studying on behalf of a large number of our county councils and county boroughs the state of secondary and higher education within their boundaries, and of making for their consideration plans for such extension and improvement as the powers conferred on those authorities by the Education Act of 1902 made possible and advantageous. These investigations covered about one-ninth of the population of England."*

The Board's report for 1904-5 contained a handsome acknowledgment of this work from Morant :

More than fifty reports of varying scope, length and elaboration, dealing with higher education, and prepared or published since the beginning of 1903, have come under the notice of the Board. Amongst the most valuable of those published are the series of reports on secondary and other higher education in Sheffield, Birkenhead, Huddersfield, Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Exeter, and in the administrative counties of Derbyshire and Southampton, by Professor Michael Sadler.⁴

Sadler's surveys were widely read outside the areas they covered, and did more than any other agency to stimulate local interest in higher education. The verdict of Mr.

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Lowndes, who has had experience as an administrator both at the centre and at the circumference, is noteworthy : " To the administrator they are an object lesson in the art of arousing the popularly elected representative by an appeal to his sense of civic responsibility, by interesting him in the past achievements of his area, and by providing him with just the right arguments with which to still the murmuring or rebut the arguments of his constituents." ⁵

Six fresh surveys are recorded in 1905-6. " In these reports there are many valuable indications of policy, making for co-ordination, development, and prevention of waste. The difficulties in the road are, however, not solely due to want of organization, they are largely financial." ⁶ Progress continued steadily, but as less than a quarter of the authorities had carried out surveys by the end of the year 1906-7,* one cannot describe it as outstanding. It was not until after the social upheaval caused by the War of 1914-18 that the period of rapid expansion began.

The Board itself played no inconsiderable part in this earlier period of survey. A number of the local surveys were carried out by Inspectors from the Board, but equally important was the increasing number of full inspections of individual schools carried out each year. In making such an inspection, the first consideration of the Inspectors is the relationship of the school both to the needs of the area as a whole and to the other schools in the area. These inspections, therefore, though generally more limited in scope than the surveys, threw a flood of light on special aspects of the problem. By the end of 1906, in the field of "secondary" education alone, 818 full inspections had been carried out since the Board of Education Act came into force. Up to 1905, 378 schools had been inspected at their own request, under the Board of Education Act ; but in 1905 and 1906, 302 of the 440 inspections carried out were under the new regulations for secondary (grammar) schools.⁷

* Only four more surveys were recorded in that year.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS

1 THE EXISTING PUPIL-TEACHER SYSTEM

THE first problem in secondary education to which Morant addressed himself was the overhauling and extension of the Pupil-Teacher system, which had been set up originally by Kay-Shuttleworth to provide a steady stream of new teachers, but had not expanded nearly rapidly enough to keep pace with the swift increase in school population towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Under this system a boy (or girl) who wished to enter the teaching profession was, so to speak, apprenticed to the head teacher of a public elementary school, and spent a large part of his time teaching in the lower standards as a supernumerary member of the staff. This gave some relief to the head teacher, who in return was expected to keep a fatherly eye on his general progress, by supervising and improving his teaching technique in school hours, and at other times giving him private coaching for the King's Scholarship or an equivalent examination. Success in this examination would enable the pupil teacher to become an uncertificated teacher, and after a further minimum period of two years' study, to sit for the examination for the Board's Certificate. Alternatively, if he could secure a vacancy, it qualified him to proceed to a training college, where he would spend two years preparing for the Certificate examination.

In many cases, however, the school became so badly overcrowded that the head teacher had little or no time to give to his pupil teachers, who had to teach long hours under difficult conditions during the daytime, and then study on their own at night. It is not surprising that a good many pupil teachers found the struggle too great and dropped out.

In order to ensure that pupil teachers received a good

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general education leading up to the King's Scholarship examination, there arose in many areas a system of pupil-teacher centres, into which the pupil teachers from a number of schools were collected on certain days and systematically taught by specially appointed teachers, while continuing their apprenticeship during the rest of the week. The best that can be said of this system is that, on the whole, it worked. On the other hand, a contemporary school log-book from a town in Surrey suggests that ambitious boys often became pupil teachers simply as a stepping-stone to other professions; and it must have been particularly disheartening for a conscientious head teacher to lose a pupil teacher in this way, just when he was getting some return for his careful coaching. The main weakness of the system lay in its early segregation of pupil teachers from boys and girls of their own age, and in the narrow outlook which their limited education engendered.

Morant, with his eye for essentials, saw that unless the quality of teachers in elementary schools could be greatly improved, his plans for secondary (grammar) schools on a national scale, drawing a large proportion of their pupils from the public elementary schools, would bear little fruit, since the children passing up would not be sufficiently advanced to profit by the instruction provided in the schools above.

2 REGULATIONS FOR 1903-4

In his Prefatory Memorandum to the 1903 "Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers," he urged local authorities to arrange that the best would-be teachers in their areas should receive a sound general education in a secondary (grammar) school for three or four years, with schoolfellows intended for other careers, before they began service in any capacity in an elementary school. He pointed out that, though the initial expense of scholarships for this purpose would doubtless be heavy, in the long run it would prove "the most economical of all forms of expenditure." But since the Board were not at the time in a position to assist

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the scheme by grants, and there was in any case a serious shortage of secondary (grammar) schools in almost every area, the suggestion, as Morant knew, could have little immediate effect, and he therefore resolved to extend and improve the existing arrangements for educating future teachers.

The new regulations laid down (Article 5a) as a general rule that pupil teachers must be not less than 16 years of age at the date of their admission; but where no facilities for education after 14 existed, it was obviously impossible to enforce the rule.¹ To help fill the gap, the Board sanctioned the institution of preparatory classes at pupil-teacher centres.

3 PROGRESS, 1903-7

Much was done meanwhile to improve the lot of the pupil teachers by forbidding their employment as teachers for more than half the school "meetings" in each year (Article 7a), and urging the importance of a weekly half-holiday in addition to Saturday afternoon.² In this way the pupil teachers had an adequate amount of time during the day both for further education at a pupil-teacher centre and for recreation. Where possible, Morant encouraged the local authority to attach the centre to a secondary (grammar) school, so that the pupil teachers might share in the social life of the school, and to some extent also in the lessons. In 1905 he included in the regulations an organized curriculum for pupil-teacher centres occupying "a definite position between the secondary school or higher elementary school courses and that of the training college."³

By 1907, as a result of the Board's moral and financial support, 583 centres had been recognized in England and 82 in Wales, an increase of 373 over 1902. Of these 665 centres, 425 were attached to grant-earning "secondary" schools and 50 more to other "secondary" schools or to higher elementary schools.⁴ Meanwhile a number of centres were being converted into secondary schools by extending them downwards below the preparatory classes and including children destined for occupations other than teaching.

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4 THE BURSARY SYSTEM

The Liberals on their return to office in 1906 had instituted an extensive system of free places in secondary (grammar) schools for ex-elementary schoolchildren, which emphasized the integral connection between elementary and secondary education. Later a report on the "Instruction and Training of Pupil-Teachers 1903-7" ⁵ had expressed a doubt as to "whether the system of concurrent instruction and employment, which is the essence of pupil teachership, has not outlived its time of usefulness." The moment had come to follow up the suggestion the Board had made to local authorities in 1903. New regulations were accordingly issued inaugurating an alternative to the pupil-teacher system, known as the bursary system, "whereby the general education of future teachers may be continued uninterrupted in secondary schools until the age of 17 or 18, and all attempts to obtain a practical experience of elementary school work may be deferred until the training college is entered," or at least until the examination qualifying for admission. In the latter case they would have a preliminary year as student teachers.

In heralding this change Morant gave expression to his ideal of linking up elementary with secondary education :

The experience of the last few years has convinced the Board that the problem of the selection and education of new elementary school teachers must remain insuperable so long as it continues to be regarded as an isolated one, and that the prospect of a satisfactory solution only emerges when it is regarded merely as part of the national problem of making an education in secondary schools widely available for all such children from elementary schools as are capable of profiting by it, whether they are ultimately destined to become teachers, or to enter other professions, or to follow commercial or industrial pursuits.⁶

The new system was soon in full swing. In 1907-8 there were 2,043 bursars ; in 1908-9, 3,505.

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5 SHORTAGE OF NEW ENTRANTS

But whereas in 1906-7, 11,018 new pupil teachers had been recognized, in 1908-9 the combined total of pupil teachers and bursars was only 8,714. In the next few years the number continued to shrink, until in 1912-13 there were only 4,308 entrants, 1,469 being pupil teachers and 2,839 being bursars.⁷ In the report for 1912-13 the Board, now under the charge of Mr. Selby-Bigge, went very fully into the causes of this serious deficiency. One aspect of the question was found to be economic. "The number of young persons adopting the profession of an elementary school teacher must ultimately be determined by its attractiveness in respect of emoluments, immediate and prospective, status, and security. As regards emoluments, it is certain that there are very wide variations in the salaries paid in different parts of the country"⁸—a euphemistic way of saying that the teachers were for the most part seriously underpaid. Another cause of the shortage was the fact that under the bursary system a boy or girl could not become a full wage-earner until 19 years old at the earliest. Maintenance grants, where they existed, were often inadequate, and as a rule only started at the age of 16 or 17. In consequence many children were diverted from the teaching profession.

The most interesting reason given for the shortage was that the extension of facilities for secondary education inaugurated in 1906 had opened up a large number of fresh opportunities to elementary school children. Before that date, as is still the case in some rural areas of Wales to-day, the Church and teaching were practically speaking the only professions to which a poor boy could aspire, while a girl, owing to her sex, was restricted to teaching. Under such conditions many who had no sense of vocation must have become teachers.

6 MEASURES TO REMEDY THE SHORTAGE

The improvement in the general education of intending teachers in the previous years had been so marked that the

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Board, so far from abandoning their policy, decided to promote it more actively. Grants for the improved instruction and training of pupil teachers in rural areas not served by secondary (grammar) schools were greatly enlarged, while the possible maintenance grants to bursars were not only increased threefold but made available throughout their whole school life.

The War of 1914-18, which broke out soon afterwards, created further problems of supply and demand necessitating a comprehensive reassessment of teachers' salaries on a national basis. The greatness of this later step forward often distracts attention from the no less important earlier steps, by which intending teachers in elementary schools were provided with as good a secondary education as could be made available for them in their own areas. A large part of the wonderful improvement in elementary schools after the war can be directly attributed to the far-sighted policy initiated in 1903-4.

CHAPTER IX

SECONDARY (GRAMMAR) SCHOOLS

I NEED OF A DEFINITION

WHEN, in 1903-4, Morant turned his attention to secondary (grammar) schools, he found that there existed no legal definition either of a secondary school or of secondary education. The word "secondary" had not anywhere been mentioned in the Act of 1902, being included in the colourless expression "education other than elementary." Even among secondary schools in the restricted sense there was wide variety of type and standard. While the larger endowed grammar schools were in the main satisfactory, many of the smaller schools were extremely inefficient, with badly qualified and underpaid staffs and narrow curricula. In addition a certain number of the old higher grade schools, in which science subjects predominated, had been taken over by the new local authorities and converted into municipal secondary schools. As has been shown, the Board were also encouraging the conversion of pupil-teacher centres. If the limited sum of money available was to be spent to the best advantage, it seemed essential that every secondary school, whether old or new, should have "a clearly defined purpose and a well considered scheme of instruction, suiting it to take its proper place in an organized system of national education." ¹

2 THE "S" REGULATIONS OF 1904

The new regulations proceeded to define a secondary school as "a day or boarding school which offers to each of its scholars up to and beyond the age of 16 a general education, physical, mental, and moral, given through a complete graded course of instruction, of wider scope and more advanced degree than that given in elementary schools." ²

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To encourage pupils to stay for the full course the grants were progressive, being fixed at the rate of 40s. for the first year, 60s. for the second, 80s. for the third, and 100s. for the fourth. No money, apparently, was available for aiding pupils who stayed beyond the fourth year. For the year 1905-6 the numbers in different years of the course were :

<i>1st year</i>	<i>2nd year</i>	<i>3rd year</i>	<i>4th year</i>
30,647	24,151	14,660	7,313

Schools did their best to retain the pupils, but made little impression on the parents, and "school life remained dismally short, quite disproportionate to the wide and exacting curriculum that the schools tried to follow." ³

The regulations specified that the school course should provide for instruction in English language and literature, at least one language other than English, geography, history, mathematics, science, drawing, manual work, physical exercises, and (in girl's schools) housewifery. As if that were not enough, the regulations laid down $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week as the minimum for English, geography, and history, $3\frac{1}{2}$ for one language, 6 for two languages, $7\frac{1}{2}$ for science and mathematics ; science was to be both theoretical and practical and to receive at least 3 hours. Most significant of all was, "Where two languages other than English are taken, and Latin is not one of them, the Board will require to be satisfied that the omission of Latin is for the advantage of the school."

"The object of these rules," as Dr. R. F. Young has pointed out in his historical sketch at the beginning of the Spens Report, "was to ensure a certain amount of breadth and richness in the curriculum of recognized secondary schools, and to withhold recognition from schools offering only an education which was stunted, illiberal, unpractical, or over-specialized." ⁴

(a) *Their Chief Defect*

Morant's intention was excellent, but his faulty knowledge of psychology betrayed him. In the following sentences Dr. Young has placed his finger unerringly on the spot.

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The most salient defect in the new regulations for secondary schools issued in 1904 is that they failed to take note of the comparatively rich experience of secondary curricula of a practical and quasi-vocational type which had been evolved in the higher grade schools, the organized science schools, and the technical day schools. The new regulations were based wholly on the tradition of the grammar schools and the public schools. Furthermore, the concept of a general education which underlies these regulations was divorced from the idea of technical or quasi-technical education, though in reality much of the education described as 'liberal' or 'general' was itself vocational education for the 'liberal' professions. . . . An unreal and unnecessary division was introduced between secondary education and technical education.⁵

Morant's idea of a liberal education, Dr. Young thinks, was taken from von Humboldt and Matthew Arnold, but both these thinkers assumed that the general liberal education would be prolonged at the gymnasium or grammar school up to the age of 18 or 19, and lead on to an honours course at the university.⁶ Yet the great majority of the pupils in the grant-earning "secondary" schools, as Morant knew, would leave not later than 16, and thus miss the higher stages. Had he approached the problem from the point of view of the pupil's individual interests and abilities, he must have realized the improbability of a course designed as a preliminary to years of further study meeting the needs of boys and girls whose organized education would be carried no further. But he began at the wrong end, pinning his faith on the supposed disciplinary value of certain subjects, and forgetting that they are, after all, of an arbitrary nature, and do not correspond with any clear divisions in the world of knowledge.

(b) Effect on Teachers and Administrators

Two unfortunate results of the illiberal conception of a liberal education embodied in the 1904 "S" regulations call for brief mention at this point.

(1) The recent growth of practical studies in the post-primary forms of elementary schools has been greatly hindered by the lack of practical work in "secondary" schools where future elementary school teachers spend their adolescence. In

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consequence, few of these are able in the limited time that can be found at the training college or in the intervals of teaching to reach a sufficient standard to qualify them as teachers of the practical subjects. The undesirable system of employing visiting teachers with no academic qualifications must therefore continue indefinitely.

(2) A feeling of antagonism towards the Board grew up in the breasts of many local administrators who had not themselves enjoyed a university education. Mr. J. G. Legge's well-known book⁷ is generally cited as an enthusiastic account of the rapid expansion of secondary (grammar) schools. It is far more valuable as evidence of the fuel inadvertently added to class hatred by giving the Board, which was filled by university men, a reputation for favouring academic studies only.

Mr. Legge, who was by all accounts an excellent local administrator, makes the most severe attacks on Matthew Arnold, Sydney Smith, and Ruskin, selecting isolated incidents in their lives in order to belittle a culture which did not render them more sympathetic to the aspirations of those who were less well educated than themselves. He also attacks Sir Cyril Norwood, then of Harrow, who had ventured to criticize the attitude of Directors of Education towards secondary (grammar) schools, as someone who does not know what he is talking about, and who, when he retires, will become a nobody again.⁸ These outbursts cannot be explained away as mere recrimination in a passing controversy, now happily forgotten. They clearly spring from a passionate conviction that much of the credit for such progress as has been achieved in secondary education belongs to the permanent staffs of the local authorities, who, he says in a calmer passage, "have proved an invaluable counterpoise to the predominantly academic influences that have swayed the no less able and energetic staff of Whitehall."⁹ And he points to the undeniable fact that the junior technical schools, which have since received such warm commendation in the Spens Report, "sprang into being on the initiative of local education authorities, whose practical knowledge of local needs, and

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indeed of the varying talents and dispositions of the children committed to their care, forced them to find some concrete alternative to the more abstract imaginings of the academic mind realized in the secondary school of the day.”¹⁰

(c) *Effect on Secondary (Grammar) Schools*

The pages of *The Journal of Education* for 1905 and 1906 show that secondary (grammar) school headmasters were fully alive to the possible dangers of the 1904 Regulations. Thus in September 1905 Mr. Telford Varley, while commending the Prefatory Memorandum as large-minded, lucid, and hopeful, deplored the mode both of assessing grant and of controlling schools. The grant system, he pointed out, was based on the regulations for primary schools, and on the Directory of the Science and Art Department, though the conditions were entirely different. For example, promotion in secondary (grammar) schools was by terms, not by years, and boys came and left at odd terms. By insisting on attendance for the full year before paying any grant, the Board were seriously handicapping the schools. The Board's mode of controlling secondary (grammar) schools prompted him to ask :

Where are the headmasters to come in ? . . . It is evident that there must be dangers as well as drawbacks here—dissipation of energy, the stereotyping of methods, the discouragement of experiments and new departures. Every school is to adopt one out of three possible courses. Is this wise? Is it necessary? Every school must spend at least $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours on this, $7\frac{1}{2}$ on that, every week. Are such minute regulations adapted—can they be adapted—to the needs of every school, of every scholar, of every locality? Is there not a great danger lest the official suggestions for the English teaching, the Latin, and so on . . . should result in school after school taking the path of least resistance (the primrose path of the Regulations), and so tending too closely towards one of a limited number of types? . . . There is a serious and pressing danger lest all these sage and well-intentioned restrictions may result in saddling secondary schools with what is really and truly a code—none the less real, though under another name.¹¹

The effect on secondary (grammar) schools was exactly what Mr. Varley had feared. The natural English tendency

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towards conservatism and imitation was greatly reinforced in the case of the new municipal secondary schools, for they were in effect obliged by the Board's regulations to model themselves on the existing public schools and grammar schools. In many ways, Dr. Young admits, this was an advantage, for "It gave them standards of scholarship and internal organization and an ideal of corporate spirit which, if somewhat limited, were also high ; and it promoted healthy competition with the older schools for university and other scholarships which has done much to open the public and local services and the learned professions to poorer children of ability." "Indeed," he goes on to say, "within limits it would be difficult to appraise too highly the valuable contribution which the new type of secondary school has made to English education as a whole."¹² Yet, on a dispassionate retrospect, he cannot but deplore the fact that little or nothing was done after 1902 to meet the needs of boys and girls who left school to enter industry or commerce at the age of 16 ; and he attributes the present difficulties in the field of secondary education mainly to the confusion which began in 1904 between an education suited to the needs of this large group of children and one catering for the small minority who proceed to the universities.

3 THE " S " REGULATIONS FOR 1906-7

Morant's plans for linking the elementary to the "secondary" school were greatly advanced in 1907 by the Liberal Government. On the grounds that State-supported schools must be accessible to all and not be reserved for a particular class, they inserted in the 1907 Regulations an Article which read as follows :

In all fee-charging schools, a proportion of free places must be open in each year to pupils entering from public elementary schools. This proportion will ordinarily be 25 per cent. of the total number of pupils admitted to the school during the previous year, but may be reduced or varied by the Board on sufficient grounds in the case of any particular school or any particular year.¹³

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These words might be taken to imply that hitherto few if any elementary school-children had entered the secondary (grammar) schools. This was not so. Already in 1900 about 5,500 children from public elementary schools were receiving assistance from public funds, amounting to £80,000 annually, towards continuing their education in secondary (grammar) schools.¹⁴ In addition, a large number were receiving assistance from endowments, and more still were full fee payers. "Taking the country as a whole, children from public elementary schools constituted, even in 1907, rather more than half the pupils in the schools, those of them who paid fees and those who did not being about equal in number. But whilst some schools consisted almost entirely of such children, others had few or none of them, and their incursion on a large scale was dreaded."¹⁵ It was to ensure that schools should be available to elementary school-children in every area that the new Article was framed. The specification of a minimum allotment of time to different subjects was abolished, "the tradition of a balanced curriculum being by now sufficiently established."¹⁶

By way of compensation for the new conditions, the old grants were swept away and replaced by a much more generous grant of £5 for each pupil between the ages of 12 and 18, whatever his position in the school. £2 a head was also paid on every ex-public elementary school pupil between 10 and 12, and, to assist poorer schools, £250 was fixed as a minimum total grant. The Board also allowed certain schools which officially offered only 10 per cent. free places to receive the full grant.

The imposition of this responsibility for the education of ex-elementary school-children was no doubt defensible because of the increase of grant, "but the schools needed and had expected the increase without this serious obligation. Moreover, some schools received no increase, because they had been receiving the higher rate before."¹⁷ Another condition of the higher grant was that "the Governing body of the school must contain a majority of representative Governors,"¹⁸ consisting of ex-officio members, such as Members of Parlia-

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ment and mayors, and of members appointed by a local authority. Schools which could not or would not comply with these conditions were allowed to remain on the grant list, but at the old rate, or about half the new rate. A few, valuing independence above money, stood out, but the majority were compelled to come in.

In a few areas the supply of free-place candidates was at first scanty, with the result that a number of unsuitable children entered secondary (grammar) schools, but in most areas there was increasing competition for the places, and they became, in effect, scholarships. Thus the free-place system extended and strengthened the existing scholarship schemes, and by opening more widely "the door of opportunity," helped to create a new demand for education. Contrary to expectations, the free-place holders not only tended to stay longer than fee payers, but formed a large proportion of the older pupils, and did much to raise the level of attainment in the higher forms, so that, before long, headmasters who had viewed their incursion with grave misgivings were clamouring for more. In 1908-9 the total number of free-place pupils was 47,200, or 31.2 per cent. of the total numbers. In 1915 it had risen to 65,799, or 33.1 per cent. of the total number.¹⁹

One great benefit which the free-place system conferred was that it helped to standardize the age of entry to secondary (grammar) schools. In order to ensure that the children were up to the ordinary standard, entrance examinations were instituted; but except in London no age limit was fixed for some time, and as late as 1910-11 only 26 per cent. of the total number of entrants were under 12, while 15 per cent. were over 14. Gradually, however, authorities came to realize that the general late entry was a great source of inefficiency, and that to fix the age limits for junior scholarships at 10-12 would bring fee payers in earlier as well. The process was slow, but by 1924, 53 per cent. entered under 12 and only 14 per cent. above 13.²⁰ This successful standardization contributed in no small degree to the persuasiveness of the Hadow Report (1926), which, in recommending "11 plus" as the break between elementary and secondary education, was able

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to point to the successful working of the suggested scheme in a large group of schools within the latter category.

The high percentage of late entries in the years before the War of 1914-18 inevitably shortened the average length of school life. The following table, however, shows the slow but steady improvement :

AVERAGE SCHOOL LIFE (in years and months)

	1908-9	1912-13	1920-21	1922-23
Boys . . .	2·7	2·9	3·1	3·5
Girls . . .	2·7	3·0	3·2	3·6

So much for Morant's complete four-year course.

Logically [as Mr. Fletcher points out in the 1923-24 Report] the Board might have struck most of the schools off the grant list long ago or never admitted them, but to have done so would have destroyed the only hope of development. The remedy for the weakness lies only in a more general recognition of the value of education, and this can be attained only by its demonstration.²¹

The Board could at least point with pride to the fact that whereas in 1904 there were 85,972 pupils in grant-earning secondary (grammar) schools in England and Wales, within ten years the number had been more than doubled. After a further eighteen years' development since 1924, one can only heartily endorse the view then expressed, that "the beneficial effects of the free-place system have proved permanent and increasingly obvious."²²

4 PROGRESS IN SURREY

In 1895 Mr. Headlam had found that in Surrey, excluding the non-local schools, such as Charterhouse and St. John's (Leatherhead), there were 1,870 boys being educated in 11 schools and 1,812 girls in 12 schools, a total of 3,682 children in 23 schools ; but 10 of these schools had fewer than 100 pupils. Nearly all were endowed schools which had been reorganized in the previous 20 years, but only 1,500 of the places were in public day secondary (grammar) schools, and

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two-thirds of these were concentrated in Croydon and Kingston. Moreover, many of the Kingston pupils came from Middlesex, "where there are no good schools."²³ Of the 23 schools, however, only 7 seem to have secured recognition from the Board in 1902, together with 3 fresh schools, which had presumably been started during the intervening years. Of these 10 schools, 9 were for boys and only 1 for girls.

At first the county council, who were entirely responsible for 3 of these 10 schools and aided 5 others, wisely concentrated on the provision of new schools for girls, building no fewer than 6 between 1904 and 1908. During this period 5 other schools were also recognized, so that by 1909 there were 21 recognized efficient secondary (grammar) schools, of which 10 were for boys and 11 for girls. No further schools were recognized until 1913-14, when 4 more were added to the list, 2 for girls and 2 for boys, the last 2 having been built by the county council. Of the 21 schools, the council were directly responsible for 12 and indirectly for a further 6.²⁴

Though not striking, the progress had been most satisfactory. Owing both to the number of non-local schools in Surrey which held aloof from the Board, and to the large proportion of wealthier inhabitants who could afford to send their children to good non-local schools in other districts, it is impossible to tell how many children per 1,000 of the population were receiving efficient secondary education by 1914. It may be assumed, however, that the number compared favourably with that of most other areas.

5 ENCOURAGEMENT OF EXPERIMENTS

In 1907 the Board began in a small way to encourage experiments which were likely to be of value, either simply as experiments or as models to educational progress generally, and to disseminate information about them in pamphlet form. The Secondary School Regulations for 1907 provided (Article 40) for special grants to be made by the Board in aid of these special experiments, on condition that a full report should be forwarded and that the Board should be at liberty to publish

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it with such comments as they thought fit. The first experiment to be assisted in this way was in the application of the "direct method" to the teaching of Latin and Greek at the Perse School, Cambridge,²⁵ and a full account of the Latin part was published in 1910.²⁶ The Greek was dealt with in 1914.²⁷

In 1909-10 applications were made, among others, for experiments in the teaching of music, and geography, in the dramatization of English literature and history, and in the teaching of backward girls; but none of these subjects found favour, and the only fresh grant was to a Yorkshire school which had planned a curriculum to meet the needs of boys and girls destined for rural occupations.²⁸ In the next year aid was promised to an experiment in botany gardens, and to one in a large girls' school for a secretarial department for older girls, but an application for a course in housewifery was refused "because the educational value of the proposed arrangements and its connection with the ordinary work of the school were not clearly made out."²⁹ In 1912-13 a grant was made to a Somerset school for an experimental agricultural course, to be given in connection with the practical working of a small holding.

These few grants are all that can be traced in the pre-war years. In 1908, however, grants were allowed under the same Article in aid of the appointment of foreign "assistant" teachers of modern languages on the staffs of secondary (grammar) schools, under mutual arrangements with France and Prussia. In the following year 23 schools were approved for the grant,³⁰ and the practice of exchanging "assistants" with foreign countries has continued ever since. The numbers in any year have never been great, owing to the natural reluctance of teachers to cut themselves off from their own schools for a whole year, and only a small minority of the secondary (grammar) schools have ever taken advantage of the scheme. But of this small minority a number of schools by their constant use of the scheme have shown their appreciation of the opportunities it affords for widening the outlook of both teachers and taught.

CHAPTER X

HIGHER ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

I HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

AFTER the Cockerton judgment a new system of higher elementary schools providing a four-year course for children between the ages of 10 and 15 had been established by Minute, to regularize the position of the higher grade board schools. The arrangement seemed to be merely a temporary one until these schools could be absorbed into the secondary (grammar) school system; and as the curriculum prescribed¹ had to be dominantly scientific and also include a foreign language, irrespective of local conditions, it is not surprising that few schools of this type were recognized. In 1906 there were only thirty altogether in England and Wales.

In the Code for 1905 the regulations were revised to allow a little more scope to a local authority in framing the curriculum. But this would not be approved by the Board unless it provided for a progressive course of study in English language and literature, in elementary mathematics, and in history and geography, in addition to special instruction that would bear on the future occupations of the scholars. Drawing and manual work for boys, and domestic subjects for girls had in every case to be included as part of the general or special instruction. The minimum age of entry was fixed at 12.² In July 1905 the Board sent a reference on the subject of higher elementary schools to the Consultative Committee, emphasizing the difficulty of determining the nature and amount of the special instruction which marked off the higher elementary school from the upper part of the ordinary elementary school, and asking especially for their opinion on the proper place of technical subjects.

The Committee in their report³ recommended that the course in the higher elementary school should develop in an

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unbroken progress the work already done, strengthen the foundations of primary education already laid, and attempt to build upon them as good a general education as the conditions would allow. The course should be related to the livelihood the children would shortly be entering, and should consist of three strands—humanistic, scientific, and manual or domestic—all the subjects being taught as far as possible in relation to each other. These recommendations, which have a curiously modern ring, did not have much effect on the regulations or on the schools. The number of schools recognized between 1905 and 1917 never exceeded 45, and at no time were as many as 10,000 pupils being educated in them. In 1916-17 there were only 31 higher elementary schools in England and Wales. This was partly due to the fact that the requirements of the regulations were rather exacting, and the additional grant obtainable comparatively small.⁴

2 CENTRAL SCHOOLS

The next experiment in higher elementary education was made under the ordinary provisions of the Code. This was the now famous central school system, which was inaugurated in London in 1911-12 to prepare boys and girls for immediate employment on leaving school, and which absorbed the higher elementary schools in that area. The curriculum was given a commercial or an industrial bias, or both, and while eminently practical was not vocational in any narrow sense. Classes were limited to 40 children, and teachers with special qualifications were chosen. The course was for four years from 11 plus to 15 plus, and a limited number of bursaries was provided for scholars over 14 whose parents could not otherwise afford to let them complete the course. Of the 42 departments established by 31st July 1912, 19 had a commercial bias, 16 an industrial, and 7 a dual bias.⁵

Manchester followed suit in 1912 with a similar system of district central schools. The Board, however, were very guarded in their attitude. In 1913 they thought "it would be premature to attempt any estimate of their educational value

POLICY AND PROGRESS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION and importance," * and in 1914 they made no reference to the new schools at all.

3 GENERAL NEGLECT OF OLDER PUPILS

Before the War of 1914-18, except for the 7,000 to 9,000 children in higher elementary schools and those attending central schools in London and Manchester, little special provision was made for the older pupils receiving "elementary" education. Owing to the rapid decrease in the number of new teachers, classes were uncomfortably large, and in many cases the older children marked time. The teaching of practical or "special" subjects was on the increase, but in 1912 there were still 89 authorities in England and Wales making no provision for handicraft, and 34 making no provision for domestic subjects ; and 15 English authorities made no provision for any special subjects at all. Gardening was taught in only 120 of the *322 areas.' The Board printed a list of the 15 black sheep in their annual report, but by the following year only one had been shamed into action.*

4 BLOCK GRANTS

In that year, as an experiment the Board offered 23 of the more progressive authorities "a single block grant in respect of all the instruction given in special subjects within the area of the authority, as an alternative to the separate grants for each special subject assessed on individual scholars." * The reason for this new departure was thus explained : " So long as local education authorities had little or no experience to guide them in developing this part of the school curriculum, and no generally accepted principles and methods of instruction existed, the Board felt it necessary to exercise through their Regulations a close and detailed supervision of the work ; but they are of opinion that the time has now come when greater freedom may be properly allowed."

The offer was accepted by 20 of the 23 authorities con-

* Since 1902, eleven Part III Authorities had handed over their educational responsibilities to the Part II Authorities for their areas.

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cerned. These evidently valued the greater freedom to adapt their teaching to the needs of particular schools or scholars.

5 SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE

Throughout the pre-war period the work of higher "elementary" education was hampered by the unsatisfactory state of the law governing school attendance. In 1900, local authorities had been allowed to raise the age of compulsory attendance from 13 to 14, but by 1912 only 176 of the 322 authorities for elementary education had made new bye-laws, and even under these authorities total exemption at 13 could be obtained if the child had passed the seventh standard. Partial exemption between the ages of 12 and 14 could also be secured. In 1908 an inter-departmental committee had recommended the total abolition of the half-time system, and the retention of all children at school beyond 13 years of age, except for employment which could be shown to be beneficial. Nothing, however, came of these recommendations, and in 1914 there were still over 70,000 half-timers.¹⁰

CHAPTER XI

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

I ABSORPTION OF ORGANIZED SCIENCE SCHOOLS

WHEN the Act of 1902 came into operation, most of the organized science schools, which had formerly been assisted by grants from the Science and Art Department, were absorbed into the secondary (grammar) school system, while the remainder continued uneasily as higher elementary schools. Though the curriculum had, as a rule, been "ill-balanced and therefore unsuitable,"¹ the organized science schools had grown up in answer to a genuine and increasing demand for some quasi-vocational alternative to the traditional grammar school curriculum. But instead of encouraging and improving them by every means in his power, as Sadler would have done, Morant was content to see them die. As has been explained, he intended to devote nearly the whole of the available funds to the enlargement and improvement of secondary (grammar) schools.

Mr. Abbott has suggested that the improvement in the teaching of drawing in elementary schools and the introduction of practical subjects, such as cookery, woodwork, and metal-work, into both elementary and secondary (grammar) schools rendered the need for day technical classes less necessary than before 1902.² These practical subjects, however, as has been shown in the preceding chapter, developed but slowly in the elementary schools, and it seems that as late as 1913 adequate provision in all practical subjects existed in only 23 areas. Mr. Abbott's apologia for the Board, though a most generous one for a former Chief Inspector of Technical Schools to make, is not altogether convincing.

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2 REGULATIONS FOR TECHNICAL EDUCATION 1903-4

The 1903 and 1904 regulations for technical education were entitled "Regulations for Evening Schools, Technical Institutions, and Schools of Art and Art Classes," and contained no provision for full-time day classes attended by pupils under 16. The defining feature of evening schools was that they were "for those already engaged in some occupation which takes up the greater part of their time,"³ and, with a few exceptions, they met in the evenings or on Saturday afternoons. The 1903-4 regulations laid special emphasis on the need for organizing classes which would provide a coherent and well-planned course connecting the previous work in elementary schools with subsequent technical studies. But boys and girls who have worked long hours during the day-time are often too tired to derive much profit from evening classes, and those who are not too tired may not take kindly to instruction in the same subjects as they learnt in the elementary school. Evening schools, though much better than nothing at all, are not a satisfactory substitute for full-time instruction during the day. As the report for 1904-5 admitted, "it is doubtless better that the student should be in a position for a time to make study his single aim—to devote the whole time to his education."⁴

Technical institutions, of which 19 were recognised in 1903, provided day instruction for students "qualified from their sufficient general education to profit by a course of advanced instruction," and prepared them for posts in industry and commerce. By Article 38 no student was admitted unless he had passed through at least a three years' course of instruction in a recognized secondary (grammar) school, or was over 16 years of age, though for 1904-5 students might be admitted between the ages of 15 and 16.⁵ Schools of Art gave organized courses, including advanced instruction, in ornamental and decorative art. The advanced instruction was given in the day-time and aimed at preparing students for work connected with the application of art in the industries. The age of entry was at least as high as in the technical institutions.

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It will be apparent from this summary that, practically speaking, no alternative now existed for an ambitious poor boy of 12 but to secure a free place in a secondary (grammar) school, where he would be compelled by the regulations to follow a predominantly academic curriculum orientated, if at all, towards the university. Lord Eustace Percy has neatly summed up the situation. "England," he writes, "was in danger of building an artificial prison whose inmates could escape only in one direction, across the drawbridge of an entrance examination into a particular type of secondary education—a type not originally designed for their reception, though greatly enlarged during the last twenty-five years for their accommodation." ⁶

3 DAY TECHNICAL CLASSES

In 1905 a section was included in the regulations enabling grants to be given to technical schools for "day technical classes" for pupils who had completed their elementary education. "This step on the part of the Board," Mr. Abbott comments, "was very cautious." Fifteen schools were soon established in the north of England to receive full-time pupils, and a large number sprang up in London, where the density of the population and the large number of trades concentrated there made provision easy. Not until 1908-9 did the Board's report refer to these day classes as "junior day technical schools," catering for boys and girls able to devote "a couple of years more to a course of practical technical instruction, specially adapted to their intended employment, combined with a practical continuance of their general education." ⁷ At this time there were 52 full-time courses for junior students, of whom 4,039 qualified for grant. ⁸ These 4,000 were all the children under 16 in the whole country receiving full-time instruction with a technical bias. Though the grants, being based on the number of hours of attendance, were rather uncertain, the number of day technical classes increased rapidly in the next few years. In 1911-12, 154 full-time day school courses were held, but the number

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of students qualifying for grant was probably not more than 6,000 to 7,000.⁹

4 JUNIOR TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

It was not till 1912-13, when Morant had left the Board, that they recorded "with special gratification" the issue of new regulations under which junior technical schools were recognized as an independent category and would "in future receive aid from the State to a degree more commensurate with their importance." The schools were now, for administrative purposes, to be "detached from other somewhat miscellaneous classes at present aided as day technical classes, and, by means of increased grants, encouraged and strengthened." "These schools," it was stated, "are definitely not intended to provide courses furnishing a preparation for the professions, the universities, or higher full-time technical work, or again, for commercial life; they are intended to prepare their pupils either for artisan or other industrial employment or for domestic employment." The course would be for not less than two or more than three years, and the normal age of entry was expected to be 13 or 14, though children might enter under 13 at a reduced annual grant of £3. £5 was the grant above 13, though the Board hoped to increase it to £7 when courses involved exceptionally costly methods of instruction.¹⁰

The new regulations also stressed the importance of a corporate life and of opportunities for recreation and, if possible, organized games. A reasonable proportion of the staff were required to have had practical trade experience of the occupations for which the pupils were being prepared, and, to ensure close contact with these occupations, encouragement was given to the establishment of advisory bodies on which both employers and employees should be represented.

Mr. Abbott's comment on the regulations of 1913 is interesting :

This step was due; the junior technical schools had justified their place in the educational system of the nation, and found

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recognition could be granted to them without any risk that any interference would be caused thereby to the proper growth of the system of secondary education, by this time fully established on a sound foundation.¹¹

5 JUNIOR ART DEPARTMENTS

In 1913 the new regulations for art schools sanctioned instruction in subjects outside art proper, in order to facilitate the organization of "preparatory" departments with courses including subjects of general education. Since 1916 these have been described as "junior art departments."¹²

CHAPTER XII

HEALTH OF THE SCHOOL-CHILD

THOUGH Morant's educational theories are open to criticism, no-one to-day would question the far-sighted wisdom of the policy he initiated for promoting the health of the school-child. It was his desire to improve "secondary" education that led him first to examine closely the foundations of elementary education on which he wished to build. Characteristically enough, he soon realized that he could not end his inquiries there, but must go still further back to the pre-school stage. In this way he rediscovered the vital truth that good health is the only sure foundation for a national system of schools.

I THE FIRST STEPS

An Act of 1893 had imposed on school authorities and parents the duty of providing education in suitable schools for blind and deaf children between the ages of 7 and 16, and in 1899 authorities were given the power to "ascertain" defective and epileptic children and provide suitable instruction for them. But apart from this gradual segregation into special schools of children unable by reason of their afflictions to profit by the instruction in the ordinary schools, the health of the school-child had received little notice.

The Boer War first drew public attention to the decline in national physique, and an inter-departmental committee reported in 1904 on *Physical Deterioration*.¹ In the next year reports by a number of women Inspectors on children under five years of age in public elementary schools stressed the value of the work being done in the council schools of London, where trained nurses inspected the children and reported on their physical condition.²

The Code of 1906 for the first time allowed organized games, such as cricket, football, hockey, and net-ball, to be

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played in school hours. "This innovation was defended on the grounds that games had played a great part in building up the physique and moulding the characters of children in Secondary Schools," and that elementary schools where games had been organized outside school hours had derived similar benefits.³

In the same year Mr. Birrell was persuaded to insert a clause dealing with medical inspection of schools in his unsuccessful Education Bill. The clause was well received and reappeared in the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907. By Section 13 it not only conferred the power on local authorities to provide "vacation schools, vacation classes, play-centres, or other means of recreation during their holidays," but from 1st January 1908 it imposed "the *duty* to provide for the medical inspection of children . . . at the time of their admission to a public elementary school and on such other occasions as the Board of Education direct, and the *power* to make . . . arrangements for attending to the health and physical condition of the children."

From the first, Morant was a warm supporter of this measure. Two months before the Act was passed he had written to Margaret McMillan, the great pioneer in this field, "For myself, I have for some time past come to feel that for the good of the children and the people, what subjects are taught *do not matter anything like so much* nowadays as attention (a) to the *physical* condition of the scholars and of the teachers, and (b) to the physiological aspect of school."⁴ Soon after the Act was passed, Morant asked Miss McMillan to help him draft a circular⁵ on school medical inspection; "for I am very anxious to keep the zealous interest of those who care for this new development, so that we may get it right, and that it shall neither hang fire nor get started on wrong or futile lines."⁶

2 THE SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICE

A new Medical Department was at once set up to advise and assist the Board in supervising the work of local authorities under the new Act, and the Board announced their intention

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of collecting and collating local records and reports on medical inspection of school-children and publishing an annual report on the subject.⁷ Dr. George Newman was chosen as the new Chief Medical Officer of the Board to build up the School Medical Service, and two years later Morant paid a glowing tribute to him—"Dr. Newman is a *splendid* man. He has worked like ten men and twenty women, always tactful, always persuasive. *His* is the credit."⁸ How the credit should be apportioned need not concern us. What is certain is that by means of memoranda, circulars, schedules, and special reports the Board took a most active part in putting the law into force.

The best judge of the Board's contribution was Margaret McMillan, and her verdict was as follows :

The new Medical Reports from Whitehall show plainly to any unprejudiced mind the new and strong desire to grapple with a momentous question, to meet, at least, with open mind and strenuous endeavour a situation big with bewildering possibilities for the whole race.⁹

For the time being, the only obligation on local authorities was to inspect ; treatment was optional, and no Exchequer grants were available. Morant's correspondence with Miss McMillan shows that he was doing all in his power to secure public aid for treatment, but it was not till April 1912 that regulations¹⁰ were issued under which grants were to be made for the current school year in respect of the medical treatment and care of children in public elementary and special schools. In August of the following year new regulations¹¹ provided for the payment of grant for medical inspection as well as treatment, so that the whole work of the School Medical Service in connection with public elementary schools was receiving State aid.

Though the School Medical Service paid the greatest attention to the early prevention of disease and ill-health, the doctors were no less zealous in their remedial work on behalf of older children in elementary schools, and the steady rise in the attainments of those who passed on to secondary

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(grammar) schools was due as much to their improvement in health as to any improvement in the skill of their teachers.

3 MEDICAL INSPECTION AND TREATMENT IN SECONDARY (GRAMMAR) SCHOOLS

It may seem strange, at first sight, that the School Medical Service was not at once extended to include all grant-earning secondary (grammar) schools, or at least those which received free placers under the 1907 Act. The secondary (grammar) schools, however, with their varying histories, presented a much more difficult problem than the elementary schools, which had been under direct State control for nearly fifty years. Some of them must have had school doctors long before this, and in any case a large number of their pupils could afford to pay the fees of ordinary practitioners. Besides, a fair proportion of the pupils stayed on beyond the age of compulsory school attendance, and it might be argued that the State's duty did not extend to this older group. The problem was more difficult and at the same time less urgent. Though anxious to extend the benefits of inspection and treatment to these schools, the Board wisely waited for a suitable opportunity before broaching the matter.

In June 1911 the opportunity arose in connection with physical training. In a carefully worded circular, the Board drew attention to a certain number of secondary (grammar) schools in which a routine system of medical inspection was practised, and where the school doctor paid regular visits to examine special cases and advise in matters of school hygiene.

Moreover, it may fall to his or her duty to suggest modifications in the curriculum of pupils suffering from mental or physical disability and to advise as to various other matters affecting their health. In all such cases it is desirable that the arrangements for physical training should be to some extent under the general supervision of the school doctor, and that he or she should closely co-operate with the gymnastic instructor.

The circular went on to suggest that the school doctor should pay special attention to the effect of the system of

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exercises on the physical development of the pupils and should keep watch for any signs of fatigue, over-strain, or physical defect, and take appropriate measures to remedy them.¹²

In their report for the year 1910-11 the Board went a stage further. After commenting on the wide divergence in practice which existed in schools already providing medical inspection, they stressed the importance of making it systematic. Such inspection in secondary (grammar) schools, they pointed out,

is largely the continuation of care for children's health after they leave the elementary schools, for the majority of them are the same children. On 31st January 1911, 88,256 boys and girls in the grant-earning secondary schools in England, or a little over 60 per cent. of the whole number of pupils in attendance, were ex-public elementary school-children. . . . It is wasteful that the benefit of systematic medical inspection should be withdrawn from children merely because they have passed from one kind of public school into another,

especially when they are approaching a critical age when the risk of over-pressure increases.¹³

4. HYGIENE AND PHYSICAL TRAINING

When the School Medical Service was founded, the Board marked the occasion by "a special effort to extend, both among teachers and children, the knowledge of the main principles of healthy living." This took the practical form of a new syllabus for students in training colleges. It was hoped that the students, on taking up appointments, would not only teach the rules of health but maintain hygienic conditions in every part of the school work, "thus helping to improve the health of the scholars and the efficiency of their education."¹⁴ In the following year the Board issued a fully illustrated and much expanded edition of their model Syllabus of Physical Exercises, and also required training college students to go through a course which would qualify them to teach physical exercises. They regretted that pressure of other work prevented students following degree courses from taking a similar course.¹⁵ In 1910-11, for the first time an examination

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in hygiene and physical exercises became a regular part of the Board's final examination. The theory of each part of the subject was tested in a written paper, and the practical part was carried out by two Inspectors of physical training. This did much to stimulate interest. Meanwhile vacation courses for lecturers and instructors held in 1909-10 had "supplied a real and somewhat urgent need." ¹⁶

5 LATER PROGRESS

The subsequent progress of the School Medical Service has been steady and unbroken. In the year 1938 the school medical, dental, and nursing staff numbered 9,741, of whom 2,416 were full time.¹⁷ 1,120,827 minor ailments, 284,925 ophthalmic defects, and 142,251 nose and throat defects were treated. 1,635,112 children were treated by school dentists, or 65.5 per cent. of the children found to require treatment. The remaining 34.5 per cent., owing to their parents' refusal, went without treatment. In the 14,586,091 examinations of children by school nurses, 444,969 were found suffering from unclean and verminous conditions, and 26,888 of these had to be compulsorily cleansed. Minor ailments were treated by 312 of the 315 authorities, dental defects by 314, defective vision by 314, adenoids and chronic tonsillitis by 292.¹⁸ Spectacles were supplied by 313 authorities, orthopædic treatment by 270, and artificial light by 118. Since 1929 every authority except the Isles of Scilly has provided school clinics. In 1910 there were 30 clinics; in 1938 there were 2,318. In the course of the year 1937, 243,638 pupils in secondary (grammar) schools were inspected.

In recent years striking progress has been made in physical training. The syllabus for 1933, sponsored by the Chief Medical Officers of the Board, greatly enlarged the more recreative and athletic side of the teaching, while the inclusion of physical training in the training colleges and the growing number of expert organizers employed by local authorities ¹⁹ ensures that the pupils are "happy, alert, eager, and *physically benefited*." ²⁰

CHAPTER XIII

INTELLIGENCE AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

INTELLIGENCE

WITH the resignation of Sadler the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports entered on a lean period from which it has never emerged. Sadler, it will be remembered, had been anxious to extend the usefulness of his office by "publishing accurate information on educational methods and developments at home and abroad for the guidance of public opinion and for the help of local educational authorities, teachers, governing bodies of schools, etc." Morant was equally anxious to guide public opinion and assist local authorities and others to fulfil their responsibilities, but he wanted them to do things in his way and not in their own. And as he knew exactly what he wanted done, he had no wish for the volumes of Special Reports to continue on the same scale as before. As it happened, twenty-nine years were to pass before the first volume of the *Year Book of Education*, under the editorship of Lord Eustace Percy, unofficially resumed this branch of Sadler's work where he had laid it down.

2 PUBLIC RELATIONS

The control of the Board's relations with the public Morant kept strictly in his own hands. With his extraordinary driving power and his enormous capacity for work, he was able largely to dispense with the assistance which an official department of intelligence, organized on Sadler's suggested lines, could give. The finely written prefatory memoranda, signed by himself, which preceded each new set of regulations, were a welcome departure from the impersonal aridity of most Government publications, and, in general, they created an excellent impression.

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The new introduction which he wrote for the elementary school Code of 1904 was hailed by *The Times* as marking a momentous change in Board of Education policy :

For the first time the child, rather than the official or the taxpayer, is recognized as the most important consideration ; and for the first time official prominence is given to that aspect of educational aims which has, indeed, been recognized in our secondary education, but almost to the exclusion of intellectual aims—the formation of character and preparation for life and the duties of citizenship.¹

The introduction, as embodying the ideal of primary education, has never been superseded and is reproduced and quoted to this day.

Morant also showed wisdom in publishing the various regulations in a more convenient form and with a distinctive colour for each set. His noble style is to be found on almost every page of the annual reports for the years 1903 to 1910, and must have added greatly to their effectiveness.

In 1905, in order to make a direct appeal to teachers and school managers, Morant remodelled the "Instructions to Inspectors" and issued them as "Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others engaged in the Work of Public Elementary Schools." In the introduction he expounded more fully the principles laid down in his famous introduction to the 1904 Code. Since 1905 the "Handbook of Suggestions" has been revised from time to time to keep it abreast of fresh developments, and in its most recent form contains a lucid and stimulating account of all that is best in modern educational practice. It is a matter for great regret that no similar handbook has ever been issued for secondary (grammar) schools.

3 MORANT'S PERSONAL UNPOPULARITY AND ITS CONSEQUENCE

Unfortunately the effect of these splendid innovations was lost on many of those who were most closely concerned in the work of education, owing to Morant's masterful and un-

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compromising manner. Dr. Allen has done his best to rehabilitate Morant as a man, and to draw a veil over that hereditary lack of poise which appeared in his case in his inability to relax and his hatred of opposition. The following quotations from Dr. Allen may be taken as a minimum statement of the trouble :

There had grown up in him a fixed concentration of purpose, the consuming zeal of a reformer, ready to sweep aside ruthlessly, irrespective of personal considerations, any established practice, any particular individual that hindered the fulfilment of his vision or the achievement of his end.² . . . He was unsparing in his censure of inefficiency or slackness, and his fixed concentration of purpose was accompanied by a directness of manner and a forcefulness of speech which produced upon those who came before him for interviews or upon a deputation an impression of harshness and severity. . . . Minds that moved more slowly than his often felt disconcerted by the quickness of his moves, and his keenness in driving home a point sometimes left a sting behind. . . . So there were some, both among his colleagues in the office and in the larger world outside, who regarded him with awe and even with dislike.³

On no-one did Morant's abruptness of manner make a more unfortunate impression than on the National Union of Teachers, who had formerly exerted considerable influence on the Board's policy, but now found themselves set resolutely on one side. They naturally resented this treatment, and many looked back with affectionate regret to the days when Kekewich had been in command.

In 1911 the carelessness of an Inspector, who accidentally left a confidential circular on a teacher's desk, exposed Morant to attack. Though not the author of the circular, Morant was officially responsible, and when it became known that it contained some most unflattering strictures on elementary school teachers, who were referred to at one point as "creatures of tradition," the fat was in the fire. Not only was Morant attacked in Parliament and in the Press, but the N.U.T., in the words of a speaker at their Easter conference, "took up the gage of battle, which should never be laid down until the last remnants of a bureaucratic despotism should be removed."⁴

It soon became evident that something more than an

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apology would be required, and in the end both Mr. Walter Runciman, the President of the Board, and Morant, the Permanent Secretary, were transferred to other Government departments.

The consternation at the Board may well be imagined. Those who remained, and whose duty it would be in future to shape the Board's policy, must have registered a silent vow that they would never again allow the department to incur the charge of high-handedness.

4 THE WINCHESTER TRADITION

When considering the subsequent policy of the Board of Education, the historian must take into account the large number of old Wykehamists whom Morant had collected at the Board. Morant made no secret of his preference for Winchester men when he was filling administrative posts, and in consequence a large proportion of the most important positions at the Board fell to Wykehamists in the twenty years following Morant's departure. In other words, the policy of the Board has rested largely in the hands of the Old Wykehamist contingent.

The typical Wykehamist—and only the strongest or most original characters fail to receive the distinctive impress—is invariably conscientious, charming, thoughtful, and tactful. He has an orderly mind and expresses himself well on paper. If he has something disagreeable to say, he may be relied on to find a form of words that will cause least offence. He is, in many ways, a first-class administrator. But a lack of self-assertion perhaps accounts for the comparatively small number of Wykehamists who have held Cabinet rank, though the Winchester entrance scholarship examination undoubtedly selects the best brains of each generation. It may also account for a certain readiness to give way to pressure, and a reluctance to coerce dilatory local authorities, on which the critics of the Board have often commented.

One excellent result of the Winchester influence has been the increasing willingness of the Board to seek advice, when

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they feel the need of it, from outside experts. Standing committees have been formed to advise the Board on the London museums, adult education, juvenile organisations, teachers' salaries, secondary (grammar) school examinations, and the certification of teachers. Departmental committees have discussed the main subjects of the curriculum, the relationship of education to industry and commerce, the training of teachers, and various problems of organization. Inter-departmental or departmental committees have considered the educational problems of children who are deaf, partially sighted, or mentally defective, and road safety for children. The Board realized at an early stage that a central education department which tries to initiate new experiments is doomed to failure in this country. It has become a feature of the Board's policy to follow in the wake of the pioneers, and by spreading their ideas and discoveries, especially through the use of advisory bodies, to raise the level all round.

Their publicity methods, however, have not moved with the times, and in consequence the disparity between progressive and unprogressive local authorities is far greater than it need be ; a subject to which further reference will be made.

CHAPTER XIV

AN ATTEMPTED SYNTHESIS

IN 1913 the Liberal Government planned a general educational advance. The King's Speech for 1913 announced that proposals would be submitted to Parliament for the development of a national system of education, and an outline of these was given in July 1913 by Mr. J. Beaumont Pease (Lord Gainford), the new President of the Board of Education. The Government, he said, would introduce a Bill whose principal object would be

to provide for the development of intermediate education (secondary schools of all grades, higher elementary schools, technical schools, trade schools, and evening and day continuation schools) by making it incumbent on the councils of counties and county boroughs to provide for the development of a progressive system of education in their areas, and to afford children during the latter years of their elementary school life opportunities of obtaining more advanced instruction than was possible in the ordinary elementary school.

He proposed also to give the large Part III authorities control over higher education in their areas, as well as over elementary.¹

On 4th May 1914 the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget speech referred to the Government's proposals for a reformed system of grants for elementary education, and for further grants for technical and "secondary" education, and for the training of teachers and other purposes. The additional cost to the Exchequer he estimated at £3,892,000 in the second year of the operation of the scheme.

Three months later the country was at war, and the plans for a comprehensive development of the educational system more on the lines that the Bryce Commission had advocated were, for the time being, abandoned.

PART THREE (1914-1919)

CHAPTER XV

CARRYING ON

THE BOARD'S POLICY

DURING the first twelve months of war the Board of Education were fully occupied in ensuring "that the system was carried on as far as possible without interruption and with undiminished efficiency," and the President addressed a letter to the teachers to this effect.¹ It is typical of the general unpreparedness of the country for war that no plans had been made in advance for dealing with the inevitable problems of staffing, while the commandeering of 743 schools for military purposes and another 80 or so for hospitals added to the Board's embarrassment. In dealing with both these problems, and indeed throughout the war, the Board showed excellent judgment. They cheerfully accepted such restrictions as could not be avoided, and within these limits sought to extract what good they could from the situation. By June 1916 something like 20,000 teachers had joined up; but the Board, taking a long view, welcomed the improved status which their patriotic action would earn for the profession, and foresaw also the broadening effect which the war would have on their outlook.²

The Board recognized at an early stage that the reforms which were apparently being held up by the war would in the long run be brought much nearer.

We are fully alive to the importance of the problems which already press for solution in all branches of education and which will arise and will occupy a position of special importance after the war. We desire to record our strong conviction that the effect of the war and the conditions arising out of it will be to render a

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progressive improvement and development of public education more than ever essential to the national welfare. In particular those higher branches of study which are concerned with the attainment of technical and scientific knowledge and with research must be greatly encouraged and developed, for upon them will depend in large measure the prosperity and security of our industry and trade.³

2 ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENTERPRISE

From the first the Board encouraged the older children in elementary schools to take their full share in the emergency. They particularly welcomed the happy relationship which sprang up between elementary schools and their old boys, and led to the growth of an *esprit de corps* which had previously only been noted in old-established public and endowed schools. They gave warm praise to the purposive work of all kinds being organized in the schools both by the teachers and by the older children, whether it took the form of teaching geography by means of sand-maps of the main theatres of war, of the knitting of socks, helmets, and body-belts, or of the construction of bed-cradles, crutches, and splints. "The manifestations" of this new spirit in the schools, they noted, "vary greatly in form; they are largely spontaneous in character, springing from the initiative of individual teachers and pupils and schools; they elude classification and cut across the formal divisions of the curriculum. In this they are characteristic of what is best in our elementary education of to-day."⁴

Every effort was made to limit the employment in war work of children who had not yet reached the legal school-leaving age and, if they were so employed, to prevent their being in any way exploited. A departmental committee was set up to report on the "Education and Instruction of Children and Young Persons after the War," "regard being had particularly to the interests of those (1) who have been abnormally employed during the war, (2) who cannot immediately find advantageous employment, and (3) who require special training for employment."⁵

Much concern was felt by the Board at the increase of

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juvenile offences during the war. They realized that this was due largely to the lack of proper care and supervision caused by the absence on military service of fathers and by the industrial employment of mothers. In January 1917 the Board tackled this problem by issuing regulations under which the Exchequer paid up to half the cost of maintaining evening play-centres, where children could be provided with suitable occupation and amusement after school hours.⁶

In May 1916 the Board launched the "War Savings" movement in public elementary schools. With the co-operation of the local authorities and teachers, special lessons were given on the subject, and copies of an explanatory leaflet were widely distributed to parents through their children.⁷ By the end of 1917 the Elementary Schools Savings Associations numbered about one-third of the 35,000 War Savings Associations in the country.⁸ Quite apart from the large sums of money secured in this way for the prosecution of the war, the movement did much to establish habits of thrift in the rising generation, and a fair proportion of the associations have continued their good work without a break to this day.

The two-shift system necessitated in areas where some of the schools were in use as hospitals had educational results which particularly interested the Board :

By curtailing instruction it concentrates the efforts of teachers and scholars on essential matters. Further, the half-day out of school has sometimes been used to excellent purpose for games and physical exercises, swimming, open-air work, excursions, visits to museums and galleries, needlework parties and the like. In a large town where both open-air expeditions and visits to galleries have been particularly well organized, the Inspector mentions that one headmaster in a school favourably situated is so convinced of the advantage of open-air work that he would not object to continuing the half-time plan when the war is over. The effect on the health of the children has also been good.⁹

School gardening for older children received a great stimulus in July 1917 when the Board issued a circular¹⁰ urging authorities to increase the number or extend the area

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of existing gardens in order to increase the national supply of vegetables. Durham responded by increasing the area of their school gardens by 40 acres, and 349 new school gardens were worked in the West Riding. The development of gardening in suitable towns was equally striking. Twenty-six of the 31 schools in Birkenhead now had gardens, and even London could boast of 100 gardens with a total area of 3 acres.¹¹ In the following year (1918) a further 173 acres were brought under cultivation.

3 HEALTH

The Board did all in their power to safeguard the health of school-children. The School Medical Service was somewhat curtailed during the war, but medical inspection for all ailing children continued, together with necessary treatment, and meals were provided on a grand scale. The Education (Provision of Meals) Act of 1914 had removed the restriction that the cost of food must not exceed the product of a $\frac{1}{2}$ d. rate, and gave power to local authorities to provide meals during school holidays and at other times when the schools were not open. Circular 856 suggested suitable organization, and gave specimen menus for school dinners. In October 1914, 1,218,238 meals were being served each week, but owing to the better wages obtainable in time of war, and the better food which children were in consequence receiving at home, the number fell to less than 200,000 by July 1915.¹²

During the post-war strikes a vast number of children were receiving meals. The noticeable gain to the health of the children at these abnormal times led the Board to adopt later the wise policy of encouraging authorities to provide meals in normal times as well.¹³

4 SECONDARY (GRAMMAR) SCHOOL EXPANSION

Secondary (grammar) schools, no less than elementary, were encouraged to take their share in war work. In addition to the cultivation of vegetables and the keeping of live-stock,

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Holidays were readjusted to enable pupils to help in harvesting, hay-making, and fruit-gathering. In certain cases the Board gave permission for older pupils to be released for emergency work on farms in term time, provided that the hours and conditions of work were suitable.¹⁴

The outstanding feature of the war period in the secondary sphere was the remarkable increase in the number of pupils in secondary (grammar) schools, which took place in spite of many counteracting causes, such as the tendency of older boys to leave early for national service, the demand for intelligent girls to replace men in all kinds of employment, and the general prevalence of high wages and regular employment. Higher wages, however, operated also in favour of secondary education, as parents, earning good money themselves, could afford to leave their children longer at school. One cause of the rapid increase in numbers was "the widening sense among parents of the duty which lies on them to do what they can towards supplying trained citizens for the nation of the future,"¹⁵ coupled with a growing appreciation of the work being done in the schools.

In 1914-15 the number of pupils in recognized secondary (grammar) schools in England rose by 9,000 to nearly 190,000. But only about 1,500 of the increase was caused by new arrivals. The rest was due to the lengthening of school life. In 1915-16 there was a further increase of 9,100, for over 5,000 of which the longer school life was responsible. In 1916-17 the increase was 18,000, of which 11,000 were due to longer school life.¹⁶

The depletion of the staffs of masters owing to war service threw a far severer strain on the secondary (grammar) schools than on elementary, as may be gleaned by reading between the lines of a sentence like the following: "The replacement of masters by mistresses has in a large number of these schools gone to the utmost extent compatible with efficient teaching and discipline."¹⁷ But somehow, though under-staffed and over-full, the schools kept going until in 1917 Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, the "heaven-sent Minister of Education," brought new life and hope.

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5 GROWTH OF JUNIOR TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

In 1913-14 there were 37 junior technical schools, of which 21 were in London; 27 were for boys, 10 for girls. By 1917-18 the number of schools had risen to 61, and by 1919-20 to 78, 65 being for boys and 13 for girls. This steady rise, at a difficult time, shows the increasing demand for education of the type provided, and though the duration of school life was "rather shorter than is desirable," it was found that the majority of the 5,101 pupils who left school in the triennium ending in 1916-17 subsequently entered employment for which their special training fitted them. "And there appears to be little doubt," the Board added, "that the schools are producing successful citizens and successfully fulfilling the object for which they were established."¹⁸

CHAPTER XVI

MR. FISHER'S REFORMS

IN 1917, when the end of the war was not yet in sight, the Government decided to reorganize the national system of education, and Mr. Lloyd George by a happy stroke of unconventionality appointed Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield, as President of the Board of Education.

I TEACHERS' SALARIES

Fisher at once went to the root of the matter. Realizing that a system of education ultimately depends on the efficiency of the teachers, he set out to improve the personnel of the profession by increasing its attractions. Before 1902, salaries in elementary schools had been paid by the managers or school boards and fixed by agreement with the teachers. After 1902 the scales were fixed by the local authorities without consulting the teachers, and varied greatly from area to area. The natural result was that the authorities who paid best tended to collect the best teachers. This aggravated the difficulties of the poorer authorities, for it not only weakened their teaching strength, but unsettled those teachers who remained behind.

In 1914 the average annual salary paid to certificated head teachers in public elementary schools was £177 for men and £126 for women. For certificated assistants the average salaries were £129 and £96, while for the uncertificated they were £76 and £69. Even when allowances are made for the low cost of living, it is clear that the profession as a whole was grossly underpaid, and that in many cases teachers with families to support must have been living very near the poverty line. During the early war years the grievances of teachers, which they generally refrained from pressing, were to some extent met by war bonuses. But in 1917 Mr. Fisher increased

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the Exchequer contribution towards elementary education by over £300,000 in order to improve the teachers' salaries, and adopted a new method of assessing grant which took into consideration the relative wealth or poverty of each local authority.¹ He also set up a departmental committee upon teachers' salaries, which reported in 1918.

This induced a number of authorities to revise their scales, but there were all too many areas in which the authorities hardened their hearts. In some cases the teachers, unable to face the appalling combination of over-work and under-pay, came out on strike.² In the summer of 1918 Mr. Fisher invited representatives of the local education authorities and of the National Union of Teachers to meet him, first separately, then together. As a result a Standing Joint Committee on Teachers' Salaries was set up "to secure the orderly and progressive solution of the salary problem in public elementary schools, by agreement, on a national basis, and its correlation with a solution of the salary problem in secondary schools."³

The committee, on which the N.U.T. and the L.E.A.'s were equally represented, met first in September 1919, under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham. In November it issued a unanimous report recommending a Provisional Minimum Scale.⁴ By October 1920 this scale, or better, was in force in the area of every L.E.A. Meanwhile a further report, setting out three Standard Scales, II, III, and IV, designed to meet the variations in cost of living in different areas, was issued in September 1920. Scale I appeared in December. The whole series was approved by the Board in 1921.⁵

A second committee had been set up in May 1920 to deal with salaries in secondary (grammar) schools, and a third in December 1920 for technical and other schools, both under Lord Burnham's chairmanship.⁶ The situation in secondary (grammar) and technical schools had never been so acute as in the elementary schools, and less difficulty was found in arriving at a scale acceptable to all parties.

Throughout the various negotiations the Board was playing its part behind the scenes with extraordinary vigour. When the scales were finally fixed, the stream of circulars which

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poured out from Whitehall explaining and illustrating the effect of the scales made it impossible for any L.E.A. to pursue delaying tactics by pretending not to understand how the scheme worked. In addition the Board engaged in much detailed correspondence and held many interviews with L.E.A.'s.

Later difficulties, due to the post-war financial slump, were only solved, after protracted negotiations, by Lord Burnham's famous Award, but the principle of a national salary scale was never questioned.

The Teachers' Superannuation Act, 1918, which came into force in 1919, was the logical complement of a better salary scale, and completed the good work. These great reforms, perhaps the greatest in the last forty years, may be said to have laid the foundation on which all subsequent reforms in secondary education have been built.

2 SECONDARY (GRAMMAR) SCHOOLS

(a) *Advanced Courses*

Two changes of high importance and closely connected with each other were made in the organization of secondary (grammar) schools. The revised regulations for 1917-18 not only provided for State aid on an increased scale, for the extension of educational experiments, for the encouragement of observational visits by practising teachers in order to study methods in other schools, and for the inspection and recognition of preparatory schools; but most important of all, they provided special grants for advanced courses in science and mathematics, in classics, and in modern studies. As in the elementary sphere, the object of the new grants was to provide more adequate salaries for the teaching staff, and to attract the more capable teachers, who would in their turn attract the more capable pupils and encourage them to stay on till the age of 18 and beyond.⁷

From 1904 onwards the Board had concentrated, partly through lack of funds, on the Four Years' Course, from 12 to

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16, but with the coming of the free-place system more and more pupils tended to stay beyond this stage in order to pass the London Intermediate Examination, or to compete for the specialized scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge. At first, however, the lower standards and wider range of the scholarship examinations at the newer universities and of those held by L.E.A.'s hindered rather than helped the development of sixth-form work, which became either too shallow or too specialized. In 1913 the Board turned their attention to the problem and issued a circular which laid down the principle that there should be specialization, but not in the excessive degree sometimes practised. Pupils, it suggested, should follow a course in a group of allied subjects, but time should also be reserved for some complementary subjects, to be taken more lightly. These were the proposals which the 1917-18 regulations put into operation. The innovations were the alliance of mathematics and science, and the alliance of language, literature, and history under the head of modern studies. The grant for an advanced course was fixed at £400, "to cover what was at that time a high salary for a teacher, and to leave a margin for the necessary equipment for libraries and laboratories." ⁸

In the first year 127 advanced courses were recognized, 20 being in classics, 25 in modern studies, and the remainder in science and mathematics. The next year, 1918-19, the number of courses doubled to 260, of which 78 were in modern studies, to the Board's great satisfaction.⁹ In 1920-21 the number of courses had risen to 403.

(b) *Examinations*

This extraordinarily rapid progress in solid sixth-form work would not have been possible but for the second important change introduced in 1917. At that time there existed what has been well described as "a dense jungle of unco-ordinated and unstandardized examining bodies"—universities, professional bodies of all kinds, the Civil Service, the Army—each competing for the custom of the secondary (grammar)

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schools. In consequence, the upper forms of many schools were in a state of chaos. Classwork at times almost disappeared, for, in a form of 30, various pupils might be entering for anything up to a dozen different examinations. No machinery existed for securing either a general uniformity of standard or the interchangeability of certificates.

In 1911 the Consultative Committee had published a report on examinations in secondary (grammar) schools,¹⁰ as a result of which the Board invited the universities and later the L.E.A.'s and school authorities to consider a scheme they had prepared. The Board's aim was to concentrate the examination of pupils in these schools in the hands of examining bodies for which the universities would take responsibility, to limit the number of examinations, and to secure co-ordination among the various examining bodies. They desired, further, that the teachers in the schools examined should be brought into consultation, and that the purposes the examinations were intended to serve should be clearly understood.¹¹

Finally, in June 1917, the Board issued a circular¹² outlining their scheme. They decided first of all to recognize only two examinations: the First, or School Certificate, and the Second, or Higher Certificate.

(c) *The School Certificate*

The First Examination would be taken by fifth forms, in which the average age would range from about 16 to 16.8. The standard for a pass, as had been explained in Circular 849 of July 1914, was to be "such as may be expected of pupils of reasonable industry and ordinary intelligence in an efficient Secondary School." The form and not the pupil would be the unit for examination, and it was expected that a large proportion of the pupils in the form should be able to satisfy the test. "It is a cardinal principle," the circular stated, "that the examination should follow the curriculum and not determine it," and it assumed that the examination would be conducted on a principle of "easy papers and a high standard of marking."¹³

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Unfortunately, as it turned out, the Board, in their wish to kill two birds with one stone, decided that the First Examination could be made to serve also as a qualifying examination for entrance to the universities (*i.e.* in place of matriculation). This seemed an excellent arrangement at the time, and no-one could have foreseen that the day would come when the primary purpose of the examination would be partially obscured in the minds of many teachers, employers, and others.

(d) *The School Certificate Group System*

In order to prevent specialization at too early an age, and perhaps also with an eye to matriculation requirements, a group system was from the start introduced into the School Certificate examination. To qualify for a certificate a candidate had to pass in at least five subjects, with credit in one, and these had to include a subject from each of Groups I, II, and III. Group I consisted of "English subjects," Group II of ancient and modern languages, Group III of mathematics and various scientific subjects. A fourth group, including music, drawing, manual work and housecraft, was recognized, but though examining bodies might offer examination in any of these Group IV subjects, success in them was not to be considered in the award of certificates. The reason for this was that these subjects were only beginning to gain ground in the schools, and it was feared that their progress might be injured if they were brought at this early stage "into the sphere of examination."¹⁴

The Consultative Committee in their Spens Report expressed a view that this group classification rested originally upon the conception of the all-round training of the faculties.¹⁵ It would be surprising had it been otherwise, for, as has been shown, the whole secondary (grammar) school curriculum in force since 1904 had been based on this conception. No-one seems to have seriously questioned the group system at the time of its institution, simply because it perpetuated the existing practice.*

* For the later history of the examination, see pp. 151-55

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(e) *The Higher Certificate*

The Higher Certificate, or Second Examination, was intended as a sixth-form examination for those who had continued their studies for about two years beyond the stage marked by the School Certificate; in other words, for those who had taken one of the new advanced courses.

(f) *The Co-ordinating Authority*

The important functions of a co-ordinating authority were exercised by the Board of Education with the help of the Secondary School Examinations Council, which was set up in September 1917. In March 1918, on the Council's recommendation, seven examining bodies were provisionally recognized, but definite recognition was not granted until the Council had carefully investigated the standards and methods of award, and the examining bodies had agreed to remedy the defects indicated. The certificates of the Central Welsh Board were recognized a year or two after the others.

Meanwhile, after a series of delicate negotiations, the Council had persuaded almost all the professional bodies to recognize the certificates, though some naturally stipulated a satisfactory standard in subjects that were of special importance to their members. This achievement made it possible for progressive class teaching to replace sporadic private coaching as the normal procedure in the higher forms.¹⁶

3 THE EDUCATION ACT, 1918¹⁷

Mr. Fisher will be best remembered for the great Education Act of 1918, which is often referred to simply as Fisher's Act. The best introduction to this Act is to be found in the annual report for 1917-18 :

The tension and suffering of the war have revealed many things which we had forgotten or to which we were indifferent, and we now know that the shattered temple of Peace has to be rebuilt more nobly and the fabric of society has to be reconstructed

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upon more generous lines. . . . The hard discipline of the war has taught the nation to recognize how great is the debt which it owes to its schools and to those who teach in them ; how vital are their services in shaping the national character, which is the foundation of our welfare and security ; how imperative it is that the public system of education should be generous and comprehensive. The recognition of these facts has found expression in two Acts of Parliament—the Education Act and the School Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1918.¹⁸

(a) *A National System of Education*

The first section of the Education Act, 1918, which was debated at a time when victory was by no means assured, plainly reflects this broader outlook :

NATIONAL SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

With a view to the establishment of a national system of public education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby, it shall be the duty of the council of every county and county borough, so far as their powers extend, to contribute thereto by providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organization of education in respect of their area, and with that object any such council from time to time may, and shall when required by the Board of Education, submit to the Board schemes showing the mode in which their duties and powers under the Education Acts are to be performed and exercised, whether separately or in co-operation with other authorities.

The Act of 1918 is generally regarded as a landmark, for it introduced the idea of an active and constructive partnership between L.E.A.'s and the Board of Education which was not possible when the 1902 Act was framed. By the earlier Act L.E.A.'s were instructed to consider the educational needs of their areas and take steps to meet them, but no power was given to the Board to see that the steps taken were adequate. The 1918 Act, to put it bluntly, sought to make the proper provision of all forms of secondary education compulsory, while leaving the initiative in the hands of the L.E.A.'s.

The Act also contained provisions for extensive voluntary co-operation among L.E.A.'s in order to deal efficiently with matters of common interest.¹⁹

MR. FISHER'S REFORMS

(b) *The Problem of Adolescence*

To the historian the Act is of particular interest for its bold attempt to tackle the problem of adolescence on a national scale. Though the Elementary Education Act of 1900 had empowered L.E.A.'s to compel attendance at school up to the age of 14, subject to certain exemptions, such free use was made of these exemptions that in many localities, right up to 1914, the effective leaving age approximated rather to 13 than to 14. Of a total 12-13 age group of about 662,000, 185,000 dropped out at 13, another 85,000 between 13 and 14, and about 266,000 at 14. Only 84,000, or about 13 per cent. of the total, received any kind of full-time education after 14, and most of these only stayed on a matter of a few months. In fact, about 40 per cent. of the children left school before the age of 14.²⁰ There were also still about 70,000 half-timers, children between the ages of 12 and 14 who were partially exempt from attendance at school so that they might do farm work. Only a small proportion of young wage-earners continued their education after leaving school.

In 1911-12, it was calculated, over 80 per cent. of juveniles between the ages of 14 and 18 were receiving no form of further education whatever. Attendance at evening schools was poor, and those who did attend were often very irregular. This was the situation which Mr. Fisher was resolved to remedy.

(c) *Mr. Fisher's Crusade*

Realizing that no scheme the Government might put forward could hope to succeed without the co-operation of the great industrialists in the Midlands, he set out in the autumn of 1917 on a tour of the chief industrial cities, in order to convert the unbelievers.

Education [he said in a memorable speech delivered at Manchester on 25th September 1917] is the eternal debt which maturity owes to youth. I do not think that we should be satisfied with a state of things under which most of our teachers are grossly underpaid and many of our school children—and this evil is specially

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rampant in Manchester—are so fatigued by industrial toil before the school meets as to be unable to profit by their instruction. I do not think that we should be satisfied with classes of 60 or with an education which ends at 12, 13, or 14 years of age—well before the period at which a really lively sense of the interest attaching to school lessons normally begins. . . . The proposition for which I am contending is that youth is the period of life specially set apart for education. I venture to plead for a state of society in which learning comes first and earning comes second among the obligations of youth, not for one class only, but for all young people. At present the rich learn and the poor earn. I do not wish to deprive the poor of their earning or the rich of their learning, but I wish to make it possible for the poor to learn as well as to earn, and, what is even more important, to create a feeling in society that during the period of adolescence the learning part of life, whether the learning be done in schools or farms or factories, is really more essential than the earning part, more essential to the individual and to the society of which that individual is a member.

We have overdrawn our account with Posterity [he told the Liverpool manufacturers on 2nd October]. War is always a biological crime . . . and, believe me, the worst result of this war will not be the load of debt or the burden of taxation ; it will be the loss to future generations of the vigorous and enterprising men and women who might have been born into the world but for the destruction which has been occasioned by the present war. For this reason I conceive that it is part of the duty of our generation to provide some means for compensating the tragic loss which our nation is enduring, and that one means by which some compensation may be provided is by the creation of a system of education throughout the country which will increase the value of every human unit in the whole of society by giving all our children the best possible opportunity that we can afford to give them, and they can afford to turn to account.

If this system was to be effective, four things were necessary. It must be an education of the whole man ; it must provide an educational minimum for the whole population ; it must offer a free career for talent, and it must prepare young men and women not only to perform their life work but to make a rational use of their leisure.²¹

(d) *Reforms in "Elementary" Education*

In tackling the problem of the young wage-earner, Mr. Fisher had a difficult choice to make. Should he raise the

MR. FISHER'S REFORMS

school-leaving age all round to 15, or was there a possible alternative which would secure more lasting benefits? After careful consideration he decided not to raise the school-leaving age beyond 14, but to make it effective up to that age, and to make provision for older adolescents in other ways.

By Sections 8 and 9 of the Act he abolished exemptions and compelled all children to remain in full-time attendance until the end of the term in which they became 14.

In order to ensure that these older children would not "mark time" but be suitably provided for, he laid the duty on the local authorities to make adequate and suitable provision by means of central schools, and central or special classes, or otherwise, "(i) for including in the curriculum of public elementary schools, at appropriate stages, practical instruction suitable to the ages, abilities, and requirements of the children, and (ii) for organizing in public elementary schools courses of advanced instruction for the older and more intelligent children."²² This had the effect of abolishing higher elementary schools as a separate type.

He also imposed the duty on L.E.A.'s of establishing and maintaining "a sufficient supply of continuation schools in which suitable courses of study, instruction, and physical training are provided without payment of fees for all young persons resident in their area which are, under this Act, under an obligation to attend such schools."²³ These "young persons" would, in the first instance, be between the ages of 14 and 16, and would be obliged to attend continuation schools for 320 hours in each year,²⁴ though at first L.E.A.'s were empowered to reduce the number of hours to 280. After an interval of seven years from the appointed day, the Act contemplated making attendance at continuation schools compulsory up to the age of 18.

The 1918 Act also extended the powers and duties of L.E.A.'s "for the purpose of supplementing and reinforcing the instruction and social and physical training provided by the public system of education." Section 17 gave permission, subject to the Board's approval, to provide holiday or school camps, centres and equipment for physical training, playing

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fields, school baths, swimming baths, and other facilities. Section 18 extended the duties and powers to provide medical inspection and treatment to children in secondary (grammar) and continuation schools. Section 20 imposed the duty of ascertaining physically defective or epileptic children, and providing suitable education for them, in the same way as the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1914, had imposed the duty in regard to mentally defective children.

PART FOUR (1919-1939)

CHAPTER XVII

THE BOARD'S POLICY OF SCHOOL EXPANSION AND THE POST-WAR SLUMP (1919-1924)

I ELEMENTARY SCHOOL BUILDINGS

SECOND in importance only to the supply of adequate teachers is the supply of adequate school buildings. It is a matter for deep regret that the period of greatest activity in elementary school buildings—from 1870 to 1895—coincided with staffing arrangements which have long since passed away. At that time adult teachers were scarce, and much of the class teaching was in the hands of pupil teachers who, owing to their inexperience, needed constant supervision. The only practicable way of securing this was for the pupil teachers' classes to be in the same room as the supervising teacher's class. Hence it arose that the majority of the elementary schools consisted of one large room, containing anything from two to eight classes, with not more than two or three separate classrooms opening out of it.

In the post-war period, when the pupil-teacher system began to disappear, the school buildings, which were of extremely solid construction, remained as firm as ever, and were often extremely difficult to adapt. This legacy from an earlier age has been an unending embarrassment to the Board of Education in their efforts to improve the efficiency of the schools, particularly where older pupils are concerned.

The Board have of necessity adopted a policy of insisting on minimum building and floor-space requirements, and by

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gradually raising these requirements from time to time have compelled the less progressive authorities to follow the lead of the more progressive. In 1908-9 the Board felt that sufficient general progress had been made to put pressure on the laggards, and they called for "a resolute and systematic endeavour to deal with the remaining unsatisfactory school premises."¹ Of the 32,060 departments in England and Wales, 3,000 were in premises that were more or less seriously unsatisfactory,² and the Board anticipated that in the majority of areas "five years' steady and consistent administration" would put the buildings "into a condition in which they will not, at all events appreciably, prejudice the health of the scholars or handicap the efforts of the teachers." In the following years the Board framed and supplied to local authorities lists of defective school premises, arranged so as to show the degree of urgency in each case. In 1914, however, much still remained to be done, and in that year the outbreak of war indefinitely postponed all but a few of the most urgent schemes. On the whole the situation at the end of the war was no better than in 1908-9. Many of the defective buildings had further deteriorated with age, movements of population had filled others to overflowing, and the effective raising of the school-leaving age to 14 was certain to add to the pressure on accommodation.³

The 1918 Act, it will be remembered, had imposed the duty on local authorities of preparing schemes for the progressive and comprehensive development of all forms of education. The first step, as in 1902, was for each authority to survey afresh the existing educational provision in its area. In July 1919 the Board issued a circular⁴ containing suggestions for the arrangement of schemes, and expressed a wish to receive schemes before the end of March 1920. To expedite the task of considering the schemes, standing committees of divisional inspectors of the various branches were set up in each region, while corresponding committees of assistant secretaries were set up inside the Board.⁵

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2 PRACTICAL AND ADVANCED INSTRUCTION IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

By Section 2 (a) of the Education Act, 1918, practical instruction, defined later as "cookery, laundry-work, housewifery, dairy-work, handicrafts, and gardening, and such other subjects as the Board declare to be subjects of practical instruction,"⁶ was finally incorporated in the curriculum of public elementary schools. Hitherto these activities had ranked as "special subjects," and received special grants. This practice had implied that they were outside the normal curriculum, and it encouraged dilatory authorities to regard them as luxuries or "frills." However, in the report for 1919-20 the Board were able to announce that the two remaining authorities on their black list were at last bestirring themselves.⁷

In Circular 1161 (May 1920) the Board impressed on authorities the importance of widening and enlarging the character of the practical instruction, and expressed a hope that the practical instruction of older scholars would become a more important part than formerly of the ordinary school work. They stressed the advantages of providing practical workrooms for all types of work within the premises of each school. But in view of the high cost of erecting new rooms, they suggested that for the time being the fullest use should be made of existing public buildings and of disused army huts for the purpose of centres. They also looked forward to the time when teachers of practical subjects would be in the fullest sense members of the school staff, preferably as certificated teachers.⁸

3 THE POST-WAR SLUMP

By January 1921, however, the sudden collapse of trade and the serious condition of national finance obliged the Board to issue a circular⁹ which for the time being put an end to all but the most urgent building expansion. However, they urged local authorities who had not yet done so, to

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prepare and submit schemes for criticism and discussion so that when the time came to resume the development of the public system, including the establishment of continuation schools, there should be no further delays. In the meantime, they pointed out, these schemes, which should be arranged in order of priority, would be conducive to economy and prudent administration.¹⁰

Later in the year the Committee on National Expenditure under Sir Eric Geddes recommended that expenditure on education should be reduced by about a third.

The effect of the "Geddes Axe" and of the indiscriminate anti-waste campaign was to restrict progress further. It led to meticulous examinations of local expenditure and the unnecessary holding up of the schemes of local authorities, to absurd economies on buildings and staff and to the indefinite postponement of continuation schools. It provided a warning of the grave dangers which would attend the unwise restriction of national educational development, and led the country to welcome the inevitable reaction which came with the temporary accession of the Labour Party to power.¹¹

4 SECONDARY (GRAMMAR) SCHOOLS

(a) *Accommodation*

Circular 1190 had recognized the increasing pressure on secondary (grammar) school accommodation, and had recommended the erection of temporary structures or army huts to provide necessary extra places.* But the supply was not nearly equal to the demand, and owing partly to the lengthening of school life the number of new places available diminished from year to year. In 1919-20 87,501 new pupils entered the secondary (grammar) schools; in 1922-23 this number had fallen to 70,154. In 1923, for the first time, the total number of pupils in these schools showed a decrease on the previous year. This filled Mr. W. C. Fletcher, the Chief Inspector of secondary schools, with anxiety lest a great opportunity should be let slip.

* Classrooms of this kind are still in use at some schools.

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If the demand continues to be thwarted [he wrote], if the children cannot be got into schools, as has happened too frequently in the difficult years since the War, from lack of accommodation or on account of high fees, what will be the effect? Will it be determination to make a way, or will it be temporary disappointment fading into the old indifference? ¹²

(b) *State Scholarships*

From 1920, in order to spread the benefits of university education more widely and strengthen the connection of the grant-aided secondary (grammar) schools with the universities, 200 State scholarships were offered to pupils in these schools, 178 for England and 22 for Wales. The scholarships were awarded by the seven examining bodies on the results of the Higher Certificate examination in England, and of a special examination by the University of Wales in Wales. This test was discontinued in 1927 in favour of the Higher Certificate examination. The value of each scholarship depended on the scholar's other resources, and might consist of a grant in aid of tuition fees and a maintenance grant of not more than £80 a year for three or, if necessary, four years. In 1922 and 1923 no State scholarships were awarded, but in 1924, so as not to penalize those who had missed the opportunity in 1923, additional scholarships were awarded, and the age-limit temporarily raised to 20, at which age, however, it remained for girls (who received half of all the awards), to avoid over-strain. ¹³

5 TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

In the technical sphere the lack of adequate and suitable accommodation was most pronounced. After 1900 no effective provision was made for aiding expenditure upon buildings, with the result, for example, that before 1918 only nine of the counties were active. In the post-war enthusiasm for educational developments of all kinds several very important projects were more or less seriously discussed, but owing to the slump few building plans were submitted to the Board, and not all these were sanctioned. The Board were forced to admit that

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the work is sometimes carried on not merely under serious disabilities, but even under conditions of material environment which must be distasteful to teachers who have known the amenities of study in a university, and cannot but repel those students, at least, who have had recent experience of a modern Secondary School.¹⁴

6 DAY CONTINUATION

With the co-operation of employers, day continuation schools on a voluntary basis had increased from 60 to 100 in 1919-20,¹⁵ and before the end of 1920 compulsory day continuation, as laid down by the 1918 Act, was in operation in London, Birmingham, West Ham, Stratford-on-Avon, Rugby, and Swindon. In January 1921 Circular 1190 put an end to further expansion. Only Stratford-on-Avon, Rugby, and Swindon continued on the basis of two-year obligatory attendance, while London restricted the compulsion to boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 15. This system, however, led to dissatisfaction round the fringe of London, where boys and girls from unrestricted areas were securing the best jobs before the London boys and girls were free to apply. In consequence the system of compulsion in London had eventually to be abandoned.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME, 1924

1 EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

ON 22nd January 1924 the Labour Party came into power, and within ten days they had given a reference to the Consultative Committee that was destined to change the whole future of education in this country. The Consultative Committee were asked :

(1) To consider and report upon the organization, objective, and curriculum of courses of study suitable for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools, other than Secondary Schools, up to the age of 15, regard being had on the one hand to the requirements of a good general education and the desirability of providing a reasonable variety of curriculum, so far as is practicable, for children of varying tastes and abilities, and on the other to the probable occupations of the pupils in commerce, industry, and agriculture ;

(2) Incidentally thereto, to advise as to the arrangements which should be made (a) for testing the attainments of the pupils at the end of their course, and (b) for facilitating in suitable cases the transfer of individual pupils to Secondary Schools at an age above the normal age of admission.¹

In effect this reference invited the Consultative Committee to think out again from the beginning the whole problem of how the average boy and girl should be educated in the last three or four years before leaving school. It also implied a desire, which was not lost on the Consultative Committee, to raise the school-leaving age to 15 at the earliest possible date.

2 THE DEFECT IN THE 1918 ACT

The author of this reference had placed his finger on the weak spot of the 1918 Act. "It did not really face the questions: What is the function of primary education? What is the

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function of secondary education? What ought to be the relations between them?"² The suggested continuation schools were only a makeshift. They were to be welcomed as establishing some measure of educational supervision over the critical years of adolescence, but they were not the solution which most educationists would have chosen had their hands been free.

Originally the elementary school had only catered for children up to the age of about 11. Fresh age-groups had been added from time to time, but except for a growing insistence on the provision of practical instruction for the older children, the Board had formulated no comprehensive policy for meeting the needs of adolescence, if indeed they had any clear idea of what these needs were. The piecemeal method of dealing with education had been forced on them originally by lack of funds, and they had been living from hand to mouth ever since.

3 SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR ALL

The Labour Party, however, had a definite policy, and it was in pursuance of this policy that they set the Consultative Committee to work on the new reference.

Dr. R. H. Tawney stated this policy clearly in his *Secondary Education for All*.

The Labour Party [he wrote] is convinced that the only policy which is at once educationally sound and suited to a democratic community is one under which primary education and secondary education are organized as two stages in a single continuous process; secondary education being the education of the adolescent and primary education being education preparatory thereto. Its objective, therefore, is both the improvement of primary education and the development of public secondary education to such a point that all normal children, irrespective of the income, class or occupation of their parents, may be transferred at the age of "eleven plus" from the primary or preparatory school to one type or another of secondary school, and remain in the latter till sixteen. It holds that all immediate reforms should be carried out with that general objective in view, in such a way as to contribute to its attainment. It recognizes that the more secondary education is developed, the more essential will it be that there should be the widest possible variety of type among secondary schools. It there-

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT PROGRAMME

fore looks forward to the time when Central Schools and Junior Technical Schools will be transformed into one part of a system of free and universal secondary education.³

In 1919-20 over 11,000 children in England and Wales were excluded from secondary (grammar) schools through lack of free places, and a further 10,000 through lack of accommodation.⁴ A large proportion of those who secured places left at about the age of 15 because their parents could not afford to keep them at school longer. It was the Labour policy ultimately to abolish fees at grant-aided secondary schools, and meanwhile to increase the percentage of free places from 25 per cent. to 40 per cent., and to press L.E.A.'s to increase both the number and size of their maintenance allowances and to enlarge their secondary school accommodation at once, to provide room for not less than 20 per 1,000 of the school population. This standard, however, which was recommended by the departmental committee on scholarships and free places, was to be regarded as purely provisional, and L.E.A.'s were to aim at accommodating not less than 75 per cent. of the children leaving primary schools in ten years' time.

Most important of all was the regrading of education. The division of education into "elementary" and "secondary," as interpreted and organized hitherto, was "educationally unsound and socially obnoxious." It resulted in a grave waste of talent, the exclusion from secondary schools of children who ought to enter them, the imposition on the primary schools of the task of educating children between 12 and 14, for which they might not be specially fitted, and waste and inefficiency arising from overlapping. It should therefore be abolished, and schools should be regraded as follows :

- (i) Primary, up to 11 or 12
- (ii) Secondary, from 12 to 16 or 18
- (iii) Higher, beyond 18

All normal children should pass from the primary to one type or other of secondary school at the age of 11 plus, and should remain in it, with the aid of adequate maintenance allowances, to the age of 16.⁵

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4 VIGOROUS ACTION

Circular 1325 (February 1924), outlining a programme for the reduction in the size of classes, met with universal approval, but this, it was soon found, would involve sacrifice of space which at present could not be spared. New schools were so urgently needed that the Board reverted to the "Black-List" policy. They began by drawing up lists of the worst buildings in urban areas and presenting them to the authorities responsible, and later on they did the same for the county councils. How serious the situation was may be shown by the fact that on 21st May 1924 there were still 16,617 classrooms in England and Wales accommodating two or more classes. One hundred and seventy-nine of these rooms contained four classes each, 22 contained five, 7 contained six, 1 contained seven, and 1 eight.⁶ Next, Circular 1190 was withdrawn, and the Board reverted to the old practice of considering on their merits all proposals in respect of elementary, "secondary," technical, and nursery schools, and for the development of the School Medical Service. In Circular 1332 the Board announced their readiness to consider proposals for raising the age of compulsory attendance to 15. Four authorities submitted proposals which gained the Board's sanction, and in the following year East Suffolk and Carnarvon County Councils were the first to put the new bye-laws into operation.⁷ By the new regulations for secondary (grammar) schools, authorities were allowed to increase the percentage of free places to 40 per cent. without having to apply to the Board for special permission, a relaxation which led to an immediate increase of 3,200 in the number of free places awarded. Finally, by amending regulations to the Code, restrictions on the size and duration of maintenance allowances for children remaining at elementary schools beyond the age of 14 were removed; and by Circular 1340 the Board, on certain conditions, raised the grant for this purpose from 20 per cent. to 50 per cent.

On 8th October, however, the Labour Government fell, and Sir Charles Trevelyan relinquished the Presidency of the Board.

CHAPTER XIX

THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT

I EXTRA-STATUTORY PROGRAMMES

IN January 1925 Lord Eustace Percy, the new President of the Board, met representatives of the L.E.A.'s and outlined the Board's future policy of co-operation and expansion, later embodied in Circular 1358. Authorities were asked to consider the more immediate needs of their areas in all grades of education and to submit comprehensive programmes of action covering a definite period of at least three years, beginning on 1st April 1927. The Board's approval of these programmes, however, would not create any specific duty which the L.E.A.'s were bound to discharge. The system of compulsory schemes was thus abandoned and replaced by a system of extra-statutory programmes on a voluntary basis.

2 PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION AND ADVANCED COURSES

In their report for 1924-25 the Board recorded that in 1923-24 practical instruction in handicraft was being received by 474,884 elementary children in England and Wales, and in gardening by 121,007. Domestic subjects were being taken by 480,954 girls. The organization of advanced courses also proceeded steadily. In April 1925, 158 of the 318 authorities had organized such courses, providing instruction for about 97,500 children in 682 departments. Three-quarters of the 551 departments in England were in the form of central schools or classes into which children were drafted from neighbouring schools, usually at about 11 years of age. No attempt was made by the Board to suggest the lines on which these advanced courses should be organized. Their reason for so doing was, no doubt, that the Consultative Committee were at the time engaged on an inquiry into the whole problem

POLICY AND PROGRESS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION of adolescent education, and they were anxious not to commit themselves to a definite policy until the Committee had issued their report, and they had had time to consider it.

In Circular 1350 (January 1925), however, the Board went so far as to say that in future they would find it difficult to approve any scheme of school-planning which failed to make provision for the advanced instruction of children over the age of 11, by giving opportunities for suitable classification and organization. They also noted that the age of 11 was increasingly recognized as the dividing line between "Junior" and "Senior" education; but for administrative convenience they stated that they themselves favoured a break at 10 or 9, preferably 9. Owing to this extremely vague attitude towards the all-important problem of when the break between junior and senior should occur, the Board were able in their next report, after the Consultative Committee had recommended a break at 11 plus, to exclaim in effect, "Why, that is just what we have been saying ourselves." They were careful, however, to suppress their reference to a break before 11.¹

3 THE GENERAL STRIKE, 1926

The L.E.A.'s were for the most part still planning their three-year programmes when the mining dispute and the general strike (1926) obliged the Government temporarily to restrict new building. This was most unfortunate, as the black-list policy was only just beginning to take effect. It had one good result, however. The authorities were able to consider the recommendations of the Hadow Report before embarking on any large building operations.

4 THE HADOW REPORT

Dr. Tawney's *Secondary Education for All*, with its sub-title *A Policy for Labour*, though it contained the core of the matter, was still only a political manifesto. What was needed to set the educational world ablaze was an educational manifesto as authoritative as Morant's famous introduction to the Code

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of 1904. *The Education of the Adolescent*, or Hadow Report, signed on 26th October 1926, was a manifesto of this kind.

The main thesis of the report was that, instead of restricting secondary education to a mere 10 per cent. of the child population, we should make some form of post-primary education available for all normal children between the ages of 11 and 14, and as soon as possible between the ages of 11 and 15. For this to be effective, the report urged that primary education should be regarded as ending at about the age of 11 plus. "A second stage should then begin, which should, as far as possible, be regarded as a single whole, within which there will be a variety of types of education, but which will generally be controlled by the common aim of providing for the needs of children who are entering and passing through the stage of adolescence." ²

In the country as a whole many more children should pass to secondary (grammar) schools, but other types of post-primary school should be included, in which the curriculum would vary according to the normal leaving age and the different interests and abilities of the children. Besides the secondary (grammar) schools, trade schools, and junior technical schools, there should be two types of Modern school. The first would be on the lines of existing selective central schools, with a four years' course from the age of 11 plus, and a realistic trend in the last two years. The second would be of the type of the existing non-selective central, which might be the only central school in the area, or might co-exist with selective central schools. Where, owing to local conditions, neither type was practicable, senior classes, central departments, and "higher tops" should be separately organized for the children over the age of 11 plus.

In all Modern schools or their equivalents the curriculum should contain large opportunities for practical work and be closely related to living interests. In the early years the curriculum should have much in common with that of secondary (grammar) schools, and should include a foreign language for those who could benefit from it. This would facilitate transference of pupils from one type of school to another. The

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instruction would, however, be simpler and more limited in scope, owing to the shorter length of the course and the importance of not over-burdening the pupil. *

Eleven plus, the Committee recognized, is a very early age at which virtually to decide the whole future of the child. They therefore recommended that adequate arrangements should be made for transferring children at the age of 12 or 13 either from modern to secondary (grammar) schools, or from secondary (grammar) schools to modern or junior technical schools. But if the machinery for transference was to be effective, modern schools must be given a standing in the public estimation which should not be inferior to that of secondary (grammar) schools. Accordingly the Committee recommended that "the qualifications of teachers and the standard of staffing in proportion to the number of pupils in the school should approximate to those required in the corresponding forms of grammar schools." They also recommended that "the construction and equipment of modern schools should, so far as possible, approximate to the standards required by the Board in grammar schools." *

The Committee, it will be remembered, had been asked to advise on a leaving examination. While recommending that one should be framed, they urged that it should not be established for at least three years, and that, in any case, it should be wholly optional, in respect both of the individual pupil and of the school as a whole. The examination should be carefully adjusted to the needs of broad and varied curricula and designed with the definite object of encouraging pupils to remain at school up to the age of 15 plus.

The Committee noted with satisfaction that the existing division of education into elementary, secondary, and technical was losing its rigidity, and they hoped that the artificial barriers between these three divisions would rapidly disappear. As an interim arrangement they recommended closer co-operation between Part III and Part II authorities. Later on, they hoped, legislation would be introduced to abolish the smaller Part III authorities and turn the larger into Part II authorities, so that each authority would control all branches of education

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in its own area. As a final solution they favoured the ultimate creation of provincial authorities in which all existing authorities would be merged.⁵

The Consultative Committee had been particularly careful to take advice from as many different sources as possible as to the right age for the break between the junior and the senior school. They found something like unanimity among their witnesses as to the desirability of treating the age of 11 to 12 as the beginning of a new phase of education for all children, no matter what their attainments. More important, however, was the evidence of the psychologists, based on a study of the actual facts of the intellectual development of children. "By the time that the age of 11 or 12 has been reached, children have given some indication of differences in interests and abilities sufficient to make it possible and desirable to cater for them by means of schools of varying types. . . . Moreover, with the transition from childhood to adolescence, a boy or girl is often conscious of new powers and interests. If education is to act as a stimulus—if it is to be felt to be not merely the continuance of a routine, but a thing significant and inspiring—it must appeal to those interests and cultivate those powers." And if this is to be done effectively, "the beginning of the new stage in education must coincide with the beginning of a new phase in the life of the children themselves."⁶

5 RECEPTION OF THE REPORT

The report met with instantaneous success in all quarters. At this date evidence of responsible contemporary opinion is not easy to procure, owing to the discontinuance by the Board of their collection of press cuttings. Two important books, however, were nearing completion at the time the report appeared, and in each case the authors felt bound to add a section warmly commending the report to the general public.

The distinguished independent committee which had been investigating the problem of adolescent education under the presidency of Lord Haldane had reached the same general

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conclusions as the Consultative Committee, and they pressed strongly for the consideration and adoption of its recommendations.

Too often in our educational history [they commented] reports of equal value and authority have remained for some years neglected, until time and the pressure of circumstances have brought them to an incomplete fruition. The suggestions of the Consultative Committee must not be allowed to suffer this fate ; the need for reform is too urgent, and the opportunity is clear.⁷

The excellent chart printed as a frontispiece to their book⁸ showed to the most casual reader that they were speaking the plain truth.

Dr. Kimmins and Miss Belle Rennie were particularly pleased with the Consultative Committee's attitude towards practical instruction : " If the report breaks down the absurd practice of decrying any instruction which may be regarded as utilitarian, it will have rendered a significant service." ⁹

6 THE BOARD'S ATTITUDE

The Board of Education, while welcoming the Hadow Report as providing a solution to the problem of when the break between junior and senior should occur, wisely refused to be stampeded into giving a date for raising the school-leaving age to 15. As the President informed a deputation from the Association of Education Committees which urged this course, the first task was to deal with schools on the black-list, and to eliminate classes over 50.¹⁰ On 31st December 1927, 65 per cent. of the schools on Black-list " A " still remained to be dealt with, while owing to the high birth-rate of 1920 the number of classes over 50 had increased in the year ending 31st March 1927 from 19,982 to 20,212.¹¹ Local authorities would be fully occupied in the next few years in dealing with these two problems. If the leaving age were raised in 1933 to 15, they would be compelled in that year to find places for an extra 350,000 children, and in 1934 for an extra 446,000, in addition to over 150,000 extra places required to meet the normal increase in school population.

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In Circular 1397 (May 1928) the Board noted that the Hadow Report "confirmed the soundness of the main lines of development which authorities had already laid down for themselves in their current three-year programmes." They went on to emphasize the point that the elimination of large classes and the treatment of black-list schools must be considered as part of the general problem of reorganization. This circular was accompanied by an excellent pamphlet, entitled "The New Prospect in Education,"¹² which contained a detailed statement of the grounds for reorganization and the problems involved, together with accounts of typical schemes of reorganization already in operation. It pointed out among other things that in future the normal unit of organization would be not the single school but the group of schools.

In 1926 the number of pupils over 11 in reorganized departments was 165,000, compared with 1,823,000 in unreorganized "all-age" departments. By 1929 the number had risen to 225,000, compared with 1,442,000 in all-age departments.¹³ At this rate reorganization would take a lifetime. Progress in the provision for practical subjects continued fairly steadily, and by 31st March 1929, 19,183 departments in England and Wales were giving practical instruction of one kind or another either in centres or on the school premises for pupils of 11 years and over. But 4,210 departments were still making no such provision whatever.¹⁴

7 ATTEMPTS TO RAISE THE SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE (1929-31)

On their return to power in the summer of 1929 the Labour Party pressed forward with reorganization. Sir Charles Trevelyan announced on 18th July that the Government intended to raise the school-leaving age to 15 from 1st April 1931. In November 1929 the Exchequer grant for new elementary schools was increased from 20 per cent. to 50 per cent. for a period of three years from 1st September 1929. On 19th December a short Bill was introduced to raise the school-leaving age to 15 and provide maintenance allowances for the children affected, assessed according to

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the actual needs of the children and their parents. The Exchequer would pay over 80 per cent. of the cost of educating the additional age group, and 60 per cent. of the cost of weekly maintenance allowances not exceeding 5s. a child.¹⁶

There can be little doubt that, had it not been for the "dual system" by which Church schools and Council schools exist side by side, but on a different footing, the school-leaving age would have been raised, as was planned, on 1st April 1931. The authors of the Hadow Report had made a special appeal to the voluntary societies and managers of non-provided schools to co-operate with local authorities "to establish the modern school firmly as an integral and general part of our national system."¹⁶ But, however willing they might be to further Hadow reorganization, the Churches could not hope to find the sums necessary to erect new buildings without assistance. The whole success of the venture depended on some acceptable means being found by which they could be assisted to play their part in reorganization. Accordingly, after lengthy discussions with local authorities, teachers, and representatives of the Churches, the Government withdrew the Bill in May 1930, and introduced a revised Bill permitting L.E.A.'s to give financial aid to voluntary schools for the purposes of reorganization, in exchange for an extension of public control over the appointment and removal of teachers. This second Bill could not be proceeded with during the current session, and before it was reintroduced the Government decided to confine it to the raising of the school-leaving age and the award of maintenance allowances, and for the time being to shelve the question of grants to voluntary schools. In the committee stage the date for raising the leaving age was postponed to 1st September 1932, but by January 1931 the Bill had passed through the remaining stages in the House of Commons.¹⁷

But the Commons had, however, accepted an amendment from a Roman Catholic member* which provided that the Bill should not come into operation until an Act had been passed authorizing building grants to non-provided schools.

* Mr. John Scurr, M.P.

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The Bill being now a mere pious aspiration, the Lords rejected it, and Sir Charles Trevelyan promptly resigned.

In the following August (1931) the Labour Government went out of office, and the new National Government, finding that the country was heading for financial ruin, felt obliged to curtail educational expenditure. Among other economies, the 50 per cent. building grant was withdrawn after only two years, and only the most urgent developments were sanctioned.¹⁸ All thoughts of raising the school-leaving age had for the time to be abandoned.

8 PROGRESS IN REORGANIZATION

(a) *General*

Reorganization, however, continued. In the year ending 31st March 1931 classes of more than 50 were reduced from 10,017 to 8,571, and the number of children over 11 in reorganized departments rose to 534,000, or approximately one-third of the total number. In the following year, when financial conditions were at their worst, the number of children over 11 in reorganized departments increased by 50 per cent. to 777,000. 519,000 of these, or 28.1 per cent. of all pupils over 11, were in departments classified as senior. Of the original black-list schools, 61 per cent. of the 679 "A" schools, 51 per cent. of the 1,766 "B" schools, and 41 per cent. of the 381 "C" schools had been removed from the list by the end of 1932.¹⁹ Reorganization went steadily ahead as the country emerged from the world slump, and by the end of March 1938, 63.5 per cent. of the pupils aged 11 and over were in reorganized schools, and the number of classes of more than 50 had been reduced to 2,100.

(b) *Progress in Surrey*

In the administrative county of Surrey the first central (modern) school was established in 1915. In 1925 the number had increased to 5, of which 3 were new schools. In 1930 the total number had risen to 24, and in 1935 to 51, 29 of

POLICY AND PROGRESS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION which had been specially built for the purpose, while by February 1938 there were 69 central schools, of which 44 had been specially built, the remainder having been converted or enlarged. The population of the administrative county increased from 738,711 in 1921 to 1,127,061 in 1936, the increase per annum in the years 1934-35 and 1935-36 having been approximately 40,000. In 1926 the elementary school population was 59,834. By 1937 it had risen to 92,261. In spite of this enormous increase, a large part of which had been caused by London slum-clearance schemes, by 1939 the Surrey County Council were already in sight of complete reorganization. In March 1937, 20,390 pupils over 11 were in central schools, out of a total of 30,513, and by September 1937, 67,160 elementary school children out of a total of 92,261 were in central school areas. In 1938 plans were laid for the provision at a capital cost of £725,000 of a further 11,400 central school places, about 40 per cent. of which were to be supplied in new non-provided schools.²⁰

(c) *Progress in Oxfordshire*

In comparison with Surrey, progress in Oxfordshire towards complete reorganization has been slow. Nor are the reasons obscure. Whereas the value of a 1d. rate has steadily mounted in Surrey owing to the vast new housing estates being erected,* Oxfordshire in 1929 lost some of its most valuable property to Oxford City and some also to Reading. A 1d. rate in Oxfordshire in 1939 produced only £2,275 for elementary education. There are also more schools in Oxfordshire per 1,000 pupils in average attendance than in all but four of the English counties.²¹ This indicates a widely scattered population, which makes any reorganization plans difficult. A modest scheme involving "higher tops" in the country districts was inaugurated early on, but as a result of Circular 1444, which recommended larger concentrations of children, this scheme had to be reconsidered. By the end of 1938 there were 26 departments organized as

* At St. Helier's alone 9,068 houses were erected between 1929 and 1936.

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senior and "senior top," and another 16 departments receiving senior children from other schools, but there were still 43 all-age unreorganized schools containing 754 older children, as compared with 3,304 children in senior and "receiving" schools. A six-year reorganization programme was inaugurated in 1939, as a result of which reorganization in Oxfordshire would by 1945 have been as complete as was feasible.

In practical subjects the situation in 1939 was most satisfactory. Provision was being made for over 80 per cent. of the older children in horticulture, and for over 90 per cent. in handicraft and domestic science. There was a full-time organizer for each subject.²¹

9 THE HANDBOOK OF SUGGESTIONS

In the prefatory memorandum to the first edition of the "Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools," the Board's attitude to teaching was defined as follows :

Neither the present volume nor any developments or amendments of it are designed to impose any regulations supplementary to those contained in the Code. The only uniformity of practice that the Board of Education desire to see in the teaching of Public Elementary Schools is that each teacher shall think for himself, and work out for himself, such methods of teaching as may use his powers to the best advantage and be best suited to the particular needs and conditions of the school. Uniformity in details of practice (except in the mere routine of school management) is not desirable even if it were attainable. But freedom implies a corresponding responsibility in its use.²²

It is clear, however, from Mr. Edmond Holmes's *What Is and What Might Be*, published (by Constable) in 1911 after his retirement from the Chief Inspectorship, that the narrow type of teaching that had grown up under "payment by results" continued to dominate the higher forms of elementary schools for many years.²⁴ The War of 1914-18 did much to

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loosen old habits, and a new chapter may be said to have begun with its conclusion.

The successive editions of the Handbook show that the Board and its Inspectors have kept in close touch with the pioneers of educational thought and practice in this country. A good illustration of this is to be found in their attitude to the teaching of English. A distinguished committee, which included Sir Henry Newbolt (chairman), Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, and Mr. J. H. Fowler, issued an authoritative report in 1921 which has had a profound effect on English teaching in all types of school and continues to be a best-seller to this day. Yet this report contained nothing vital affecting the elementary school stage which had not been in the Handbook since before the war. In the 1923 edition the Board drew special attention in a prefatory note to the committee's excellent report, and urged all teachers to make a careful study of it, but they were able to reproduce the chapter on English from the previous edition without incongruity.

The most recent edition of the Handbook, published in 1937, was largely rewritten, and is an entirely up-to-date exposition of the best educational thought and practice. Besides the general introduction and the usual chapters on the various subjects of instruction, the book contains a special chapter on each stage of elementary school life. The headings taken from fifteen pages of the chapter on the senior school stage will give some idea of the freshness and breadth of outlook which mark the whole book.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHILDREN AT THE SENIOR SCHOOL STAGE

The Senior School-child compared with the Junior School-child ; his greater power of self-control ; his greater power of abstract thought ; his greater emotional stability ; his special interests and abilities ; his greater independence ; the differing needs of boys and girls.

GENERAL CONCEPTION OF THE LIFE OF THE SENIOR SCHOOL

A Its Social Life

The importance of social training ; the need for some measure of freedom for the pupils ; the question of self-government ; school

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societies and other social groups ; enlisting the interest of the parents ; the social value of the midday meal ; " Houses " and " teams " valuable not only for purposes of competition ; the transition from school to employment ; the need for experiment.

B Curriculum

(1) General Considerations

The curriculum should cater for differing abilities and interests ; it should not make excessive demands on the children ; it should relate to the immediate needs and interests of the children ; it should be varied and flexible ; some experiments . . .²⁵

The Board's hope that the current edition would be regarded as a necessary part of the equipment of every teacher in a public elementary school cannot be too warmly endorsed. One might add that it should be in the hands of every teacher of children between the ages of 4 and 15, in whatever type of school they may be found.

10 THE EDUCATION ACT, 1936²⁶

Reorganization in anything like a complete form only became possible with the passing of the Education Act, 1936. Circular 1444, issued in January 1936, explained the Government's programme of educational reform, and in order to encourage local authorities to co-operate, the Elementary Grant Regulations were amended so as temporarily to increase the grant in aid of reorganization schemes from 20 per cent. to 50 per cent. In July, the month in which the Act received the royal assent, an important pamphlet, " Suggestions for the Planning of Buildings for Public Elementary Schools,"²⁷ indicated the principles which should govern the planning of new senior schools on efficient economical lines.

Circular 1456 of June 1937 fixed 31st December 1940 as the final date for approval of capital projects to qualify for the special 50 per cent. grant, but for various reasons the final date was later postponed to 31st December 1943. It seems probable, therefore, that at least four years of peace will be required to complete Hadow reorganization.

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(a) *Raising of School Age and "Beneficial Employment"*

By Sections 1 to 7 of the new Act the school-leaving age was to be raised to 15 as from 1st September 1939. Owing, presumably, to pressure from the big industrialists, the Board were obliged to provide in the Act for exemptions between the ages of 14 and 15. In the ten years from 1925 to 1935, 13 local authorities had already made bye-laws raising the compulsory age of attendance from 14 to 15,²⁸ but on such a small scale the system had not worked well, and exemptions in most areas had been so numerous that in practice only a small proportion of the children remained on after 14. The Board had watched the experiments with close attention, and the fruits of their observation are to be found in Section 2 of the Act, which obliged local authorities to take every precaution to satisfy themselves that the particular employment would be "beneficial" to the particular child for whom the employment certificate was asked.

"Beneficial employment" was not, as indeed it cannot be, defined, but it was laid down that the authority

shall have regard as well to the prospective as to the immediate benefits to the child, and in particular to—

- (a) the nature and probable duration of the employment, the wages to be paid, and the hours of work ;
- (b) the opportunities to be afforded to the child for further education ;
- (c) the time available to the child for recreation ; and
- (d) the value, in relation to the future career of the child, of any training or other advantages afforded by the employment.

As a condition of issuing the certificate, the authority were to require such undertakings in writing from the employer as they thought necessary for them to satisfy themselves that the conditions of work were suitable and continued to be so. And before issuing a certificate the authority were bound to consult the local committee for juvenile employment.

In Circular 1457 the Board strongly urged the necessity, for conferences between neighbouring authorities in order to

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arrive at a general uniformity of practice, and they also outlined a suitable procedure for the considering of applications for employment, and the issuing or cancelling of certificates. The Board thus did everything in their power to ensure that the Act was administered in the best interests of the children.

(b) *Grants for Non-provided Schools*

Sections 8 to 11 of the Act dealt with payment of grants to non-provided schools "for the benefit of senior children." The grants must be spent on providing increased accommodation for senior children necessitated by the raising of the school-leaving age to 15, and this must include accommodation for practical and advanced instruction. The new buildings must form part of a general scheme of reorganization in the area, and the Board must be satisfied "that the needs of the district can be more conveniently met by the proposed scheme than by an enlargement or improvement of any existing school not provided by the authority." The grants were to be not less than one-half and not more than three-quarters of the total cost, and a time limit on their availability was arranged.

This scheme proved an admirable stimulus both to local authorities and to the Churches. Though in nearly every case the local authority gave the full 75 per cent. grant, this meant that the ratepayers' share of the cost would be $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total, instead of the usual 50 per cent. The Church authorities were equally anxious to avail themselves of the scheme, since at a quarter of the cost it provided them with new senior schools in which they would be able to arrange for denominational teaching.

The grants were later to have been available until 31st December 1943, to enable the fullest advantage of them to be taken.

(c) *Religious Instruction*

In return for these handsome grants the Churches had to make certain concessions. By Section 12 of the Act they must allow non-denominational teaching, according to an

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“agreed” syllabus,* to be given in all their schools to any children whose parents wish it and who cannot conveniently attend a council school instead. Conversely, children whose parents so desire it, may be withdrawn from religious instruction on an agreed syllabus in a council school, in order to attend a Church service or receive religious instruction elsewhere.

* *I.e.* a syllabus of non-denominational teaching agreed on by representatives of the Anglican Church and the various Free Churches.

CHAPTER XX

PROGRESS IN TECHNICAL EDUCATION

I DIVORCE OF EDUCATION FROM INDUSTRY

THE comparative neglect of technical education between the years 1904 and 1924 was not simply due to the fact that the lion's share of funds available for higher education was going to the expansion of "secondary" schools. Part of the trouble lay deeper. Whereas in foreign countries technical education has expanded under the active encouragement of the leaders of industry and commerce, in England it has grown up chiefly as a result of the desire of the more ambitious workmen to improve their position. In the past there was considerable vertical mobility of labour in this country, but as industrialism progressed this mobility necessarily diminished. The need for well-trained men who could fill such positions as works' manager or foreman steadily increased, yet until recently few industrialists adopted any regular policy of recruitment for these key positions. The divorce of education from industry, for which both sides have been to blame, has been clearly brought out by Lord Eustace Percy :

The brute truth is that, while, as Pascal said long ago, a man's choice of his trade is the most important thing in his life, this crucial choice is about the one thing for which our public system of education has made hardly any attempt to prepare its pupils. . . . The fact is, that until recently, our technical education has had little or no connection with our elementary and secondary education, and that the actual entry of the child into industry has taken place, as it were, in the gap between these two distinct categories of schools, and he has therefore usually had to make the transition without educational guidance of any kind.

Ever since the Factory Acts we have been obsessed by the dangers which attend the entry of young people into what is called "organized industry." Yet, broadly speaking, we have been content to dam back the flow of juvenile labour into industry by an embankment built up to a certain legal level. We discuss frequently whether

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that level should not be raised by another year, but the more ardently we argue about the raising of the school-leaving age, the less do we apparently concern ourselves with the subsequent helter-skelter rush of these barraged waters over the countryside below.

The wastage of human material is, of course, only one aspect of the problem of technical education. The other aspect is that of industrial efficiency in a scientific and severely competitive age, which calls for continual improvement in the technical equipment of the individual worker.¹

2 A POLICY OF PUBLICITY AND CO-OPERATION

Almost from the moment that he was appointed President of the Board of Education, Lord Eustace Percy set out to remedy this situation. In the Board's report for 1924-25 over seventy pages were devoted to a thorough survey of the provision made for technical and further education. He next had the regulations for technical schools revised so as "to supply more readily intelligible descriptions of the purpose and character of the several kinds of evening, day, and day and evening schools, and arrangements for continuation and vocational education." He also considerably enlarged the scope of the Board's short courses for teachers in technical schools. These were either full-time for a long week-end, or for a fortnight in August, or part-time with a weekly meeting for two to three months.²

In 1928 Lord Eustace Percy started a programme of inquiries specially directed to education for commerce and industry. These took one of two forms. The first was a regional inquiry in one of the main industrial areas, the other was an inquiry into the education for a particular branch of industry or commerce. The object was "to focus the requirements of industry and the various types of training designed to meet these requirements."³ The first two committees of the second kind set up were the Goodenough Committee on Education for Salesmanship, and the Clerk Committee on Education for the Engineering Group of Industries. They were not departmental committees of the ordinary kind. Their aim was not merely to take evidence

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and draft reports, but to work out policy in intimate co-operation with the officials of the Board.⁴

The Goodenough Committee consisted of about thirty-five members, the majority of whom were directors of important companies. There was also a panel of five teachers. In the course of the inquiry about 500 firms were consulted, and in practically every case "they showed their sense of the importance of the investigation and their desire to assist it."⁵ The findings and recommendations of the Committee called

for recognition by the nation in general and by employers in particular that the future industrial prosperity of this country depends upon the constant application to the problems of finding, developing, and maintaining markets for British goods and services of at least as much time, thought, and energy, and as high a degree of abilities as are applied to the problems of production and finance; and that success in the solution of these fundamental problems of Marketing (or "Salesmanship" in its widest sense) involves the employment in commerce of those possessing the highest qualities alike of character and intellect, developed to the fullest degree by sound education, training, and experience.⁶

Employers should pay close attention to the recruitment of their staffs, and with this end in view should make themselves acquainted with the available supply of recruits of good quality. They should also recognize it as their duty to co-operate fully with education authorities to ensure "that the educational needs of this mercantile nation are met effectively without detriment to the intellectual and cultural development of its individual citizens." Educationists, on their side, should keep in touch with business men and be prepared, if necessary, to revise their curricula.⁷

The Committee on Education for the Engineering Industry recommended among other things an increased provision for junior technical schools and an increase in the number of recruits to the industry who had had a more prolonged full-time education in "secondary" or junior technical schools.

The Board exerted themselves to the full in order to secure wide publicity for both these reports.⁸

Lord Eustace Percy retired from the Board in 1929, but

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his policy has been continued. As a result of the Board's activity since 1926, a number of regional councils for technical education have been set up. Circular 1444 (1936) drew fresh attention to the need for co-operation between neighbouring authorities in planning suitable provision, and in July 1936 an important conference of the Associations of L.E.A.'s met at the Board to discuss the principles which should underlie such planning.

3 GROWTH OF JUNIOR TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

In the school year 1922-23 there were 86 junior technical schools in England, attended by 10,413 boys and 1,793 girls. In 1938 there were 224 of these schools in England and Wales, attended by 20,229 boys and 7,672 girls. According to the 1938 report, "Junior Technical Schools provide a preparation for industrial or commercial employment, with continued general education, in full-time courses of two or three years for pupils aged normally 13 or 14 on admission to the schools." Of these 224 schools, 70, attended by 9,021 boys, were listed under "Constructive Trades, general"; 47, with 6,576 boys, prepared for engineering; 54 provided commercial courses, for 2,468 boys and 4,882 girls.⁹

In addition there were 41 junior art departments, which "provide a preparation for employment in artistic industries, with continued general education, in full-time courses of two or three years, for pupils aged normally 13 or 14 on admission." These were attended by 1,344 boys and 1,022 girls.¹⁰

4 THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER SCHOOLS

Admirable though their work has been, the junior technical schools have been increasingly handicapped by the fact that, as the secondary (grammar) school system has extended and its age of entry has been lowered, more and more of the best brains have been attracted to it. The process of "creaming-off" from the elementary schools has become more and more thorough, so that the pupils passing into the junior technical schools at the age of 13-14 have included proportionately

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fewer and fewer boys and girls of first-rate ability. Transference from a secondary (grammar) school to a junior technical school is extremely rare, owing to the greater social prestige of the former, while the growth of a corporate spirit in the new modern schools, especially of the selective central type, has further accentuated the problem of suitable recruitment.

5 SENIOR COURSES AND NATIONAL CERTIFICATES

Senior full-time courses in colleges, which "extend for at least a year and are planned for students who have reached the standard of an approved First Examination," were attended in 1938 by 3,066 boys and 2,041 girls between the ages of 15 and 18.¹¹

Technical education has been greatly encouraged by the system of National Certificates inaugurated in 1921. On 21st April 1921 the Board announced that they had arranged with the Institution of Mechanical Engineers for the issue of certificates and diplomas by the Institution in conjunction with the Board to students who had successfully completed approved part-time or full-time courses. It was the Board's hope that the possession of these certificates and diplomas would soon be accepted throughout the country as a valuable qualification.¹²

The rapid expansion of the system has fully justified their hope. National Certificates may now be obtained not only in mechanical engineering, but in electrical engineering, building, chemistry, naval architecture, and textiles. In the last three, however, no full-time courses are held. In 1938, 4,450 certificates were gained, of which 3,276 were ordinary and 1,174 higher. But of the 7,456 candidates only 205 had been attending full-time courses.¹³

CHAPTER XXI

PROGRESS IN SECONDARY (GRAMMAR) SCHOOLS

I INCREASE IN PUPILS, SCHOOLS, AND SCHOOL LIFE

MR. W. C. FLETCHER's fears that the unsatisfied demand for grammar school education after the 1914-18 war might fade "into the old indifference" proved groundless. In 1923-24 there were 384,783 pupils in efficient secondary (grammar) schools, a small decrease on the previous year. By March 1935, however, the number had increased to 507,887, and by March 1938 to 544,862. Since 1920-21, which marked the end of the period of swiftest expansion, 188,000 pupils have been added, and the number of efficient schools has grown from 1,328 to 1,805.

In 1920, 55.1 per cent. of the boys and 45.9 per cent. of the girls in grant-aided schools who left after attaining the age of 14 left under 16.¹ Perhaps 6 per cent. in each case left owing to transfer to other schools. Strange as it may seem, the over-pressure on the schools tended in the following years to lengthen the average school life at both ends. In the first place the school authorities found themselves strong enough to tighten up the conditions of admission and so standardize the age of entry at 11 plus. They were also able to extract a written promise from parents to leave their children at school till the end of the four-year course.

This swelled the numbers in the higher forms and led also to an expansion in advanced courses. For a time the Board were inclined to be reticent about the average length of school life, but in 1926-27 they admitted that the average school life after the age of 12 was only 3 years 8 months for boys and 3 years 9 months for girls, with a leaving age of 16.1 and 16.2 respectively. The proportion of pupils over 16 was still less than 10 per cent. of the whole.² In 1927-28

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a better system of calculating school life was introduced, and the average, both for boys and girls, was found to be 4 years 1 month. By 1930 this had risen to 4 years 8 months, and by 1938 to 4 years 11 months, with a leaving age of 16 years 7 months. The number of pupils over 16 in grant-aided schools in March 1938 was 74,042, or 15·7 per cent. of the whole, as compared with 75,388, or 16·2 per cent. for 1937.³

2 PROGRESS IN SURREY

Fifteen new county schools were built in Surrey between 1920 and 1937, 5 for girls, 6 for boys, and 4 for boys and girls. In 1937 there were 63 efficient secondary (grammar) schools in Surrey, for 34 of which the Surrey county council were responsible, as compared with 69 central (modern) schools. Of these 63 secondary (grammar) schools, 28 were for girls, 22 for boys, and 13 for boys and girls. They contained, in all, 17,600 pupils, or 15·6 per 1,000 of population.⁴

In 1937-38 three new schools were built and others were in course of erection.

3 THE EDUCATIONAL LADDER

(a) *Junior Scholarship Examinations*

Since the war of 1914-18 the Board have devoted much thought to the methods of selecting children for secondary education. In 1920 they sent a general reference to the Consultative Committee on the use of psychological tests of educable capacity. The Committee in their report made a suggestion that group tests should be tentatively added to the usual written papers in the "Free Place" examination, and that the school careers of the successful children should be followed up in order to find out the predictive value of these tests.⁵ Their advice was followed by a number of local authorities, and in 1928 the Board issued an important pamphlet based on the review of 75 free-place examinations.⁶ As a result of this pamphlet, intelligence tests are now accepted as "a valuable addition to the armoury of weapons, which

POLICY AND PROGRESS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION includes school records and oral tests, for discovering children who have not done themselves justice in the examination in English and Arithmetic, and for discriminating between candidates near the border line." 7

Under the Board's continued, if gentle, stimulus the technique of the examination has improved steadily. In Oxfordshire as late as 1933 there was neither scaling of marks to equalize spread, nor intelligence test, nor chief examiner. By 1939 all these defects had been remedied, and an additional intelligence test of a practical non-verbal kind was set in order to discover children of scientific ability.

(b) *Free Places*

In October 1922 the number of free places in secondary (grammar) schools on the grant list was 113,405, or 34·2 per cent. of the total number of pupils in the schools.⁸ In October 1924 the number of free places was 112,710, or 34·4 per cent. of the total, but by 1925 it had increased by 4,461 to 117,171, or 35·1 per cent. This was due to a special grant of £2 for each free-place pupil beyond 25 per cent. of the aggregate number, which had been promised by the Labour Government in September 1924, a month before leaving office. In February 1925 the Board announced that the special grant would be withdrawn after 1925-26, as they had come to the conclusion that it would be inadvisable to make it a permanent part of the grant system.⁹ By 1927-28, however, the number had grown to 131,309, or 37 per cent. of the total number, and the Board felt the moment to be propitious for a brief account of the free-place system :

The object of the free-place requirement was not to open the door of higher education to elementary school children of exceptional promise, but rather to bring the advantages of such education, as far as the limited funds at the Board's disposal would permit, within the reach of the poorer classes, and to place them on the same footing as pupils whose parents were in a position to pay the school fees.¹⁰

That this course had been fully justified was suggested by the fact that whereas only 19·8 per cent. of the fee-paying pupils

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who left school in 1926-27 had obtained the school certificate before leaving, 48·1 per cent. of the free pupils had done so. In the same year 2,093 ex-public elementary school pupils, of whom 1,767 had been free-placers, proceeded to universities, as compared with a total of 1,276 other pupils.¹¹

The maximum number of free places which might be awarded at the discretion of school authorities had been raised in 1924 from 25 per cent. to 40 per cent. In 1930 it was raised again to 50 per cent. By this time the total number of free-placers was 178,204, or 42·7 per cent. of all the pupils.¹²

(c) *Special Places*

In 1932 the Board revised the regulations. They had formed the opinion that "the system of admitting pupils free to Secondary Schools without any regard to the capacity of the parents to pay is needlessly wasteful of public funds." In consequence, for the former "Free Places" they substituted "Special Places," carrying total or partial exemptions from fees according to the circumstances of the parent. Up to the prescribed minimum of 25 per cent. the special places were to be reserved for pupils from public elementary schools, but above 25 per cent. they were to be thrown open to free competition. Remission of fees in cases of exceptional hardship arising after admission was also sanctioned. The Board further laid down that fees at approved rates were to be charged in all schools, so that a greater degree of uniformity might be secured in comparable areas. In certain areas where either the schools had been free or the fees very low, the Board agreed to the whole of the free places being treated as special places.

These changes, it was estimated, would result in a net saving to public funds of about £400,000 without any hardship or curtailment of facilities.¹³

In October 1933, of 457,594 pupils in grant-earning schools 225,927 or 49·4 per cent. were totally exempt from fees, while 16,469 or 3·6 per cent. paid partial fees. The remainder received no exemption.¹⁴ In October 1938, 231,581 (46·9 per cent.) were totally exempt, and 48,073 (9·7 per cent.) partially

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exempt. The remaining 214,679 (43·4 per cent.) received no exemption. Of 1,398 schools on 31st March 1938, 496 awarded between 25 and 50 per cent. of special places or free places, 461 between 50 and 100, and 304 schools awarded 100 per cent.¹⁵

(d) *State Scholarships and L.E.A. Scholarships to Universities*

In 1930 the Board of Education increased the number of State scholarships from 200 to 300, and in view of the larger proportion of boys taking the examination the division was in future made on the basis of the number of candidates of either sex. This gave 185 scholarships to boys and 115 to girls. In 1936 the scholarships were thrown open to full-time pupils in all secondary (grammar) schools in England and Wales, whether recognized for grant or not, and their number was increased from 300 to 360. The maximum maintenance allowance was also raised from £80 to £100 a year. Of the State scholars for a period of years it was announced in 1935 that 34 per cent. of the men and 70 per cent. of the women entered the teaching profession.¹⁶

Scholarships to universities awarded by local education authorities greatly outnumber the State scholarships, and in 1937, it was estimated, at least 1,500 were awarded, though a number of them are held concurrently with State scholarships.¹⁷

4 THE BOARD'S EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE TEACHING

(a) *The Four Curriculum Committees*

In the last twenty years the Board have devoted much thought to the teaching in grammar schools. Two important committees had been set up by the Prime Minister during the 1914-1918 war to inquire into the position of science and modern languages in the educational system of England. In 1919, to complete the picture, two further committees were set up on the Classics and on English. In December 1922, when they had had time to digest the four reports, the Board issued a circular¹⁸ setting out certain conclusions which they

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later summarized in the report for 1921-22. Not surprisingly the Board found that when the minimum times advocated for the various subjects were added together they made up "a formidable total," and that "on that basis the claims of individual subjects could be met, if at all, only with the greatest difficulty."

It is clear that a sufficient margin of time should be left for the individual tendencies of schools and their staffs to operate, and if every subject claims a larger place in the general curriculum, this margin will inevitably disappear. In these circumstances the Board consider that it has become necessary for schools in planning their time-tables to exercise a greater freedom than has hitherto been customary ; less insistence should be laid on the general character of the curriculum ; there should be a wider liberty in the allocation of time to different subjects, and even in omitting subjects from the curriculum altogether, at least for some pupils at some stage of the course.¹⁹

(b) "*The Teaching of English in England*"

Of the four reports by far the greatest, and the only one whose demands did not involve an encroachment on the allocation of time to other subjects, was that on the teaching of English.

As a contemporary reviewer pointed out :

It treats English less as an important part of school than as an important part of life, and it makes no demands for large increases in time, for it quietly and unanswerably points out that English has all the time there is, since, in a school properly conducted by properly equipped teachers who understand the true purpose of education, every teacher will be teaching English, no matter by what name the subject may be called. . . . English is the key to all forms of knowledge, and specialists neglect their own subject precisely to the extent to which they neglect the English which is the foundation of all.²⁰

In the words of the report itself :

We make no comparison, we state what appears to us to be an incontrovertible primary fact, that for English children no form of knowledge can take precedence of a knowledge of English, no form of literature can take precedence of English literature ; and that the two are so inextricably connected as to form the only basis possible for a national education.²¹ . . . We believe that in English literature we have a means of education no less valuable than the

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Classics and decidedly more suited to the necessities of a general or national education. If we use English literature as a means of contact with great minds, a channel by which to draw upon their experience with profit and delight, and a bond of sympathy between the members of a human society, we shall succeed, as the best teachers of the Classics have often succeeded in their more limited field. If, on the contrary, we cannot obtain a competent body of teachers, if we have to commit the guidance of youth to teachers who, in default of the necessary insight and enthusiasm, will fall back upon conventional appreciations, historical details, and the minute examination of words and phrases, we shall repeat the failure of the past upon a wider and more ruinous scale.²²

The report received an unprecedented welcome not only from the educational Press but from the great national newspapers, and was out of print within a fortnight. It has commanded a steady sale ever since, and is recognized as the standard work on the subject. The remarkable improvement in English school-books in the past twenty years may be largely ascribed to its influence. English in schools, as the study of the best modern text-books will show, has now emerged from the experimental stage when it could be regarded as an "easy subject," or a "soft option." The study of literature nowadays is closely connected with the learner's own problems of expression and gains enormously from the connection. In experienced hands the English course provides a training in clear thinking indispensable to the citizen of to-morrow.

(c) *Educational Pamphlets*

Besides their ordinary work of advice and encouragement in the course of school inspection, the Inspectors have written, at the Board's request, a number of useful pamphlets on the teaching of various subjects. Among these may be mentioned :

- No. 36. Science and Handwork Experiments
- No. 37. The Teaching of History
- No. 47. The Position of French in Grant-aided Secondary Schools
- No. 71. Latin and Greek in Secondary Schools in England
- No. 77. German in Grant-aided Secondary Schools
- No. 79. The Teaching of Empire Geography
- No. 85. The Teaching of Applied Chemistry

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(d) *Short Courses for Teachers*

The influence of the Inspectors on the teaching in grammar schools has been enormously increased as a result of their contact with practising teachers in short full-time courses during the summer or Easter holidays. In the excitement of a school inspection it is not easy for the teacher to put himself in a sufficiently receptive state to profit fully by an H.M.I.'s advice. But in the informal and friendly atmosphere of an Oxford college, where Inspectors and teachers mix on an equal footing, the conditions are far more favourable. The Inspectors who organize these courses are all carefully chosen by the Board for their power to arouse or revive interest in their special subjects, and the present writer can speak with grateful recollection of the benefit he has derived from them. The Board have been very active in promoting courses of this kind for teachers of all grades, and have encouraged local authorities and other bodies to follow their example.

In 1938 there were 270 short full-time courses, of which 51 were provided by the Board of Education, 136 by L.E.A.'s, and 83 by other bodies. 7,487 teachers attended. No fewer than 77 of the 270 courses were in physical training, including dancing and hygiene. They were attended by 906 men and 1,154 women.²⁸ There is, however, no information as to how many of these courses were attended by teachers in secondary (grammar) schools.

5 THE BOARD AND THE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE

Unfortunately the Board's strenuous efforts in one direction have been to some extent counterbalanced by their slowness in another. It will be remembered that the school certificate examination was originally designed as a test which an industrious pupil of average ability could take in his stride at the end of four years. In 1918 there were 22,873 candidates; in 1924, 49,343; in 1930, 63,117. In 1937 there were 77,278 candidates, of whom 54,795 or 70.9 per cent. gained certificates. At first sight this progress seems highly satisfactory. During

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the year 1937, however, 101,005 pupils left these schools, so that rather more than 46,000, or twice the total number of candidates in 1918, left without obtaining a certificate.³⁴ Two possible conclusions suggest themselves: the average pupil may not be sufficiently industrious, or else the examination, for the efficiency of which the Board are responsible, may not be fulfilling its intended purpose.

The first alternative may be ruled out. It is the general verdict of secondary (grammar) school teachers that a heavy strain is imposed nowadays on many of the candidates, especially on girls, and that at a time of life when every precaution should be taken to protect them from undue fatigue.³⁵ The Board's own pamphlet on homework³⁶ corroborates this view. Assuming, then, that the examination is not fulfilling its intended purpose, we must inquire further why this is so. The answer is not hard to find.

While the Board, in accordance with the recommendations of psychologists, have been encouraging teachers to adapt their teaching and vary their curriculum to suit the needs of individual boys and girls, they have at the same time shown reluctance to modify the school certificate examination so as to bring it into line. In 1926 the Head Mistresses' Association proposed to the Secondary School Examinations Council that a pass in Group I (English subjects) together with a pass in any two of the remaining groups should constitute a pass in the examination. As this proposal involved a question of policy, the Council consulted the Board, but the only modification that resulted was that two of the five subjects required might be taken from Group IV (practical subjects) instead of one as formerly. The group system remained unchanged.³⁷

In 1932, on the Council's recommendation,³⁸ the Board slightly relaxed the group system. They now allowed a candidate to count as having passed in the language Group (II) if he could secure a pass mark in a modern language on a translation paper only. Similarly, he might secure a pass in Group III on a paper in elementary mathematics only. But in return for this concession the candidate had to pass in the other two main groups, had to pass in at least five full

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subjects (three of which might come from Group IV), and had to gain credit in three. Evidently the Board still shared the view of the university representatives on the Council that the existing group system was not in need of any considerable alteration.

The situation in the schools had been aggravated by three inter-related factors. In the first place the enormous increase in the provision of secondary education has undoubtedly brought into the secondary (grammar) schools an ever-growing proportion of children for whom the traditional academic curriculum is more or less unsuitable. Secondly, the school certificate has been so warmly welcomed by employers as a convenient yard-stick by which to measure applicants for jobs that increasing pressure is exerted both on the school and on the pupil by ambitious parents. Thirdly, the connection of the school certificate with university matriculation has been responsible for a notion very widely held by employers that "matric" is a superior kind of school certificate, which can reasonably be demanded of would-be employees. Most of them would be astonished to learn that they have, in fact, been demanding that their office boys should be of university standing.²⁹

The result has been unfortunate. Teachers, realizing that the whole future of their pupils may depend on the result of the examination, often feel obliged to concentrate not on the subjects to which the children are most drawn, and from which, therefore, they will derive most benefit, but on the weak subjects, without a pass in which the certificate or matriculation cannot be secured. In this way the school certificate examination has shown a tendency to dominate the curriculum of some secondary (grammar) schools, though the Board had laid down that "it is a cardinal principle that the examination should follow the curriculum and not determine it."³⁰

An indirect result of this pressure has been the widespread abandonment, in the interests of increased efficiency, of the form-master system in favour of a system of specialist teachers. The result has been not only a certain loss of continuity and

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of that valuable intimacy which springs up between a form-master and his pupils. Professor Zilliacus has drawn attention to a still graver result :

We may say that the subject specialist's view of the curriculum is upside down : taking the sum total of knowledge (a vast total) and of performance (a more modest amount) considered necessary in his subject for the label of Bachelor or Magister, he shakes it out like the toy known as Jacob's Ladder, assigning the top rungs to the university, the middle to the secondary school, and the lowest to the primary. . . . The other specialists do the same, and so you have the child regarded as a gradually increasing fraction of a professor in each branch of study, doomed to swallow (with or without cramming), and at stated times to regurgitate for inspection, these logically perfect but psychologically indigestible gobbets of erudition.²¹

In 1936 a change of policy seems to have taken place at the Board, for in that year they reconstituted the Secondary School Examinations Council so as to reduce the representation of the universities from about a half to a third. One-third was given to the L.E.A. representatives and the remaining third to teachers.²² The control of the Council thus passed out of the hands of the university representatives with the result, which the Board may have foreseen, that in 1938 a majority of the Council recommended that "a Certificate should be obtained by success in an English Language test and in five subjects taken from at least two groups, of which Group II or Group III must be one." In other words, they recommended that a certificate should be obtainable without a pass in both the language and the science group. They also recommended that the requirement of a credit in one full subject as a condition for the award of a certificate should be rescinded, that the form of certificate should show all the subjects in which the candidate had satisfied the examiners, that there should be three grades of success in each subject—Pass, Credit, and Very Good—and that this information should be shown on the certificate. To these suggestions the Board agreed with some hesitation, leaving it to the Council to persuade the examining bodies to adopt the proposed modifications.²³ In the report for 1938 the Board politely

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suggested that the practice which still survived in one university of issuing matriculation certificates (which had largely replaced the school certificate as a test of employment qualifications) should be discontinued, pointing out that the new Certificate should provide employers with all the information they required.³⁴

It is interesting to note that the Consultative Committee had independently reached the same general conclusion. While holding that the group system needed revision, they were not in favour of its total abolition.

Grammar school education, unless it is to be altered fundamentally in character and objective, can scarcely imply less than that some recognized standard has been reached in English and in at least one of the two other main branches of learning. We are therefore prepared to accept the requirement that a candidate in order to obtain a Certificate must pass in English and either in a foreign language or in some scientific subject.³⁵

In spite of the modifications agreed to by the Board of Education, the school certificate examination will continue to cause many heart-burns until the recommendations of the Hadow and Spens Reports are fully implemented. When the time comes that we possess several parallel types of secondary education, all of equal standing, the school certificate examination will take its rightful place as a suitable test of the child of good academic ability. Children whose bent lies in more practical directions will no longer be faced by an examination more or less unsuited to their abilities, and it may even be found desirable to tighten up the conditions for the award of a certificate. Meanwhile it is clear that further concessions to popular demand cannot be made if a reasonable standard of work is to be maintained in the grammar schools.

CHAPTER XXII

INTEGRATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT

I INTEGRATION

(a) *The Third Attempt*

As has been shown, this country made three attempts in forty-five years to integrate her post-primary system of education. On the first occasion a narrow conception of secondary education and the lack of sufficient funds to tackle the problem as a whole concentrated attention on one particular type of school and left the main problem still to be solved. On the second occasion a general advance seemed more propitious, but a European war abruptly halted the Board's proposals. For ten years before the outbreak of Hitler's war the third effort had been proceeding. In 1932 Lord Eustace Percy wrote :

Great Britain finds herself involved in a movement common to the whole world at the present moment—the break-up of secondary education into such a variety of schools and courses as will admit all children to some share in its benefits. But whereas in Central Europe this movement has tended . . . to take the form of a diversification of type within the Secondary School system . . . * in Great Britain . . . it takes the form rather of a break-up of the upper standards of the Elementary School and the creation of a number of new types of school which run parallel with the "secondary" school but leave it comparatively untouched.¹

The Board would probably accept this description as accurate, but it is on their interpretation of the word "parallel" that everything will depend.

In 1922 a change in the internal organization of the Board indicated a desire to break down the artificial barriers separating "elementary," "secondary," and "technical"

* These words were written before the present Nazi régime had reduced the number of different types of secondary school in Germany.

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education from one another. In the following years the Board made some attempt to bridge the wide gap which existed between the standards of staffing and accommodation in "elementary" and "secondary" schools, but so long as the "elementary," "secondary," and "technical" post-primary schools are organized under three different sets of regulations, the process of integrating secondary education cannot advance far.

(b) *The Spens Report*

This point was admirably brought out in the Spens Report. While reluctantly rejecting the adoption of a multilateral type of secondary school as a general policy, the Consultative Committee urged that the multilateral idea "should permeate the system of secondary education."¹ The purpose underlying this idea is :

to secure for everyone the conditions under which individuality is most completely developed—that is, to enable him to make his original contribution to the variegated whole of human life as full and as truly characteristic as his nature permits.²

But if this grand purpose is to be achieved, every precaution must be taken to ensure first that each child on leaving the junior school at 11 is offered several different routes from which to choose, and second that if he finds the chosen route does not suit him, he is given the opportunity of transferring to another. Psychological research has shown that the special abilities—linguistic, scientific, and the rest—which should help to determine a child's future life-work, often do not begin to appear until the age of 13. It is particularly desirable, therefore, that machinery should exist for transference from one type of school to another at about 13 or even later.

This was, in fact, strongly urged in the Hadow Report ; but owing to the greater prestige of the grammar school, and the divergence of curricula, few transferences have taken place.

It was with these considerations in mind that the Consultative Committee started on their search for a practicable policy of integration. In the course of their inquiries the

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Committee were greatly impressed by the excellent work being done in junior technical schools of the pre-apprenticeship type. These schools, they found, are providing "a liberal education based on a more realistic and scientific curriculum than that of a Grammar school." This is not only admirably suited to its purpose of preparing boys for entry into industrial occupations, but "will also develop best the ability of certain types of pupil, whatever occupations they may subsequently adopt." ⁴

Accordingly the Committee recommended that in suitable cases the age of entry to these schools should be lowered to 11 plus, to enable them to share in the general pool of children at the junior scholarship examination, and that under the name of Technical High Schools they should blossom out as a new type of secondary school.

The reasons for not lowering the age of entry to junior technical schools in the past have been sound. Eleven plus, it was formerly objected, was too early an age either to decide once for all the child's future occupation, or to start him on work of a purely vocational nature. To the second objection the Consultative Committee reply "that it is the aim and purpose of Junior Technical Schools to liberalize every subject in the curriculum," and that the refreshing atmosphere of "vitality, keenness, and happiness" in the schools they visited was a sure index "that the process of education was developing smoothly and unrestrainedly." ⁵

They meet the first objection by proposing that for the first two years after entry pupils in all three types of secondary school—grammar, technical high school, and modern—should follow approximately the same curriculum. While recognizing that not all pupils in a modern school should take a foreign language, they consider that it should be available for those who show academic ability. At the end of two years they suggest "a regular review of the distribution of pupils as between different schools," and that definite administrative machinery should be created for this purpose. ⁶ They insist, however, that if a satisfactory solution to the problem is to be found, the three types of school should be conducted

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together under a new Code of regulations for secondary schools, with similar standards for the size of classes and for school buildings. The problem of staffing they propose to solve by means of Establishments of Teaching Posts, by which a teacher's salary will depend more on his qualifications and experience than on the type of school in which he happens to teach.

(c) *Cautious Policy of the Board*

It was hardly to be expected that the Spens Report, appearing as it did only nine months before the outbreak of Hitler's war, would be greeted by the Board with enthusiasm.* Yet they might well have given it a warmer welcome.

On 15th February 1939 a motion was proposed in the House of Commons tentatively suggesting that, in view of "the need to attract into the service of Commerce and Industry a sufficient supply of persons of well-trained character and brains," the Board should consult with local education authorities and other educational interests to determine how far the recommendations of the Spens Report should be carried into effect. In reply the Parliamentary Secretary, after declaring naively that economy at the Board had not yet started, invited Members of Parliament with first-hand acquaintance with business to help in framing appropriate schemes of training for young workers in different branches of commerce. "Certain factors had put secondary education to some extent out of step with the needs of modern society," he admitted, "and the increased severity of foreign competition had underlined the need for a review of the system." The remainder of his speech, however, implied that such changes as were contemplated would take place within the framework of the existing "secondary" schools, and be confined to a more realistic presentation of such subjects as geography and mathematics.⁷

* Date of publication of Spens Report : 31st December 1938

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2 ENLIGHTENMENT

(a) *Inadequacy of the Board's Pre-war Publicity Arrangements*

Since the withdrawal of Michael Sadler in 1903, the advance made by the Board in its publicity has been disappointing. A few years ago the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports was renamed "Intelligence and Public Relations," but except for the addition of a part-time Press officer, whose chief duty seemed to be to circulate a few bare facts and abstracts of speeches among representatives of the Press, the staff remained much as it was in 1903. In the interval profound changes took place in the educational system of this country, but the majority of its citizens are unaware of them. School Boards, for instance, were abolished in 1902 and 1903, yet the expression "Board School child" is still current. By contrast it was tantalizing to read in *The Times*, a few months before war broke out, that 38 public relations officers were being appointed "to make more widely known to the public generally the aims, duties, organization, and conditions of service of the Territorial Army."⁸

The Board have shown great wisdom in calling in experts both to advise on educational problems and to lend their authority to the Board's plans for educational progress. But they have not thrown the net of consultation wide enough, and have often confined themselves to a small inner group of educationists. Nor have they taken elementary precautions to ensure that the reports issued by their advisory bodies are readable.

Only in rare cases is there reason to suppose that a report has been written, as every report should be written, with the potential reader in mind. When this has been done, as in the case of the reports on the Teaching of English in England, on Durham University, and on London University, the results have been all that the Board could desire. Yet they seem to have learnt neither from their successes nor from their failures.

From the first the Board have pursued a wise policy of encouraging local initiative. As the report for 1905-6 put it,

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“ the limit of useful State control is to be found at the point where it ceases to be an expanding and stimulating force, and tends to fetter and sterilize.” * But they have not understood that their gradual relaxation of control, as shown for instance by the simplification of the various sets of regulations in 1926, could only produce the best results if they coupled with it a vigorous policy of enlightenment.

PART FIVE (1939-1942)

CHAPTER XXIII

EVACUATION AND ITS EFFECTS

1 EVACUATION OF THE BOARD

THE Board of Education was itself the first victim of evacuation, for in the spring of 1939 it had to give up its buildings in Whitehall to one of the Service ministries and retire to the far less convenient Alexandra House, Kingsway. When war broke out seven months later, only a skeleton staff was retained at Alexandra House,* the remainder being evacuated to Bournemouth and other supposedly safer areas. The Board's library was stored, and about fifty of the secondary (grammar) school Inspectors were transferred to other Government departments. The collection of statistics, of which no fewer than 112 tables were published in the annual report for 1938, was largely discontinued—perhaps in order to give some relief to L.E.A.'s grappling with the problems of evacuation; and even the annual reports, which went on throughout the war of 1914-18, ceased publication. Any account of education in the present war is therefore handicapped by the dearth of official figures.

2 LEAVING AGE NOT RAISED

By an ironical stroke of fate, on the very day on which the 1936 Act had prescribed the raising of the school-leaving age from 14 to 15, someone pressed a button in London and set the machinery of evacuation in motion. An extension of educational facilities at a time when every effort was needed to maintain those that existed was clearly out of the question. In 1942-43 the Board moved to Belgrave Square and reopened its library.

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and the part of the Act which raised the leaving age was suspended.

3 THE GREAT MIGRATION

(a) *Weakness of Preliminary Plans*

In the first four days of September 1939 about three quarters of a million children left London and other large centres of population in school parties with their teachers and voluntary helpers. In the evacuation of the provincial cities, the schools, as a rule, knew their destination, but no encouragement had been given to head teachers to visit their future homes before evacuation took place. Such visits would have been immensely valuable, as they would have enabled head teachers to establish friendly relations with the heads of receiving schools and bring back information vital to their staffs and to the parents of their pupils. Uncertainty of the conditions to be met with in reception areas and inadequate publicity helped to account for the small number of children—in some areas less than 20 per cent.—who eventually left the cities.

The case of London was far worse. The Transport Authorities, it seems, had refused point-blank to guarantee that any school party travelling by rail would arrive at any particular destination. In some instances the journey to the reception area involved a bus ride, a journey on an underground train, and another train journey from a London terminus. To co-ordinate such complicated journeys, which might take place during heavy air raids, was thought to be out of the question, and the children were to be put on the trains as they arrived at the stations.

No single feature of the plan did more to wreck the success of evacuation than this announcement that there could be no guarantee of a particular destination for any school; for the evacuation was to be voluntary, and everything depended on the co-operation of the parents. To persuade a London mother to let her children go to a particular place in the country would be difficult enough. To persuade her to let them be taken to an unknown destination somewhere between Land

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End and the Wash was an infinitely harder task. There ~~was~~ be little doubt that a far larger proportion of parents would have agreed to the evacuation of their children in school parties if they had known where they would be sent. For this reason plans should have been made to link each London school with a definite school or group of schools in the country, even if when evacuation took place the urgent need of saving life resulted in many schools being sent to the wrong destinations. A full rehearsal was obviously out of the question, but the first part of the scheme, in which children either walked to underground stations or were taken to them by bus, and thence to a main line terminus in time for a particular train, could have been carefully rehearsed, in order to discover any defects in the time-table. So far as is known, only one such rehearsal was ever carried out, and that on a very small scale. If parties were timed to arrive at the final entraining stations in good time to catch their trains, it should not have proved impossible to send the vast majority to pre-arranged destinations. And if air raids had made it impossible to adhere to the plan in its entirety, it should at least have been possible to put children into any given train in approximately the right numbers and age groups.

Such a scheme presupposes that a careful survey of the educational as well as the billeting facilities in each reception area would have formed its starting-point, and that the railway time-tables would be worked out so as to deposit at each rail-head the number and type of school-children that could be accommodated in local schools and billets.

It was unfortunate that in a circular dated 30th March 1939 the L.C.C., who were put in charge of the evacuation scheme for London and the adjoining evacuation areas, discouraged head teachers from convening meetings of parents, in the unfounded belief that a pamphlet about evacuation which they were circulating to all Londoners would be equally effective. Nothing short of a most vigorous campaign, conducted by local and national newspapers, the cinema, and above all by the teachers, was likely to secure a satisfactory percentage of acceptances from London parents.

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(b) *Partial Failure of the Scheme*

What happened when evacuation took place is still fresh in mind. Almost all the teachers, but less than half the school-children, were sent out to take their chance in the reception areas. Those that went to rural districts, where elementary schools are small and scattered, were particularly unlucky. A large senior girls' school party was split in half before it left London. One half reached an area where it was billeted in thirteen different villages, miles apart, making effective supervision by the head teacher almost impossible. In the same county a large girls' grammar school found itself billeted in a dormitory suburb of a famous provincial city, with no educational accommodation but the part-time use of the local senior school classrooms and the occasional use of an infants' school hall. A junior technical school of photo-engraving arrived at a small market town not far away, where no technical facilities existed.

4 THE TIDE TURNS

Almost at once the tide of evacuation turned, and thousands of the children streamed back to the big cities. No bombs had yet fallen, and the working-class parents, unaccustomed to separation from their children and often dissatisfied with the arrangements made for their reception, preferred to keep their families together and take the risk of bombs. The danger of heavy air raids had not diminished, and in fact many of the returned children lost their lives in 1940 and 1941, but the Government persisted in its determination that evacuation should be voluntary.

On the sanguine assumption that all the children would go to reception areas, many of the school buildings in the great cities had been taken over for civil defence and other purposes. In any case, almost all the teachers were in the reception areas; and it was feared that if the schools in the evacuation areas were reopened the flow of children from the country would increase. By the end of 1939, 37 per cent.

POLICY AND PROGRESS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION of those who had originally gone out had already returned home, leaving only 472,000 in reception areas. However, the flow continued steadily, until by mid-April 1940 only about 300,000 remained in the country.¹ Some teachers who had returned from the reception areas tried to keep education going by visiting children in their homes, but eventually, in the summer of 1940, the Government was compelled to reopen the schools in evacuation areas—or such as could be reopened. At first the difficulties were so great that attendance was voluntary.

Of this system Sir Percy Harris, M.P. for South-west Bethnal Green, said :

It was one of the most comic experiences I have ever come across : children going in and out of school as they pleased, attending sometimes for a day or two if they felt so inclined. There is much credit to those children who did go to school of their own accord. But for many months many children in London had no education at all.²

5 RECEPTION AREA DIFFICULTIES

Meanwhile in the reception areas the local schools and the evacuated school groups often had to use the same buildings in shifts, so that the children were only getting part-time schooling. But as the numbers of the visiting groups decreased, it was often found possible to give all children full-time education by pooling the two schools, though this was contrary to the original L.C.C. policy. Where the numbers were still too great, evacuated schools were often accommodated in local halls, though this might mean several classes being held in the same room. In one county, at any rate, all children were receiving full-time schooling by the beginning of May 1940.

6 FURTHER EVACUATIONS

The fall of France soon afterwards and the resulting threat of invasion meant the removal of children who had been sent to the east and south-east coasts to places further inland. The heavy raids which began with large-scale attacks on London

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in September 1940 once more stimulated evacuation, and by the end of December the number of children settled in reception areas had risen to over 620,000 ; but the slackening of German raids after the attack on Russia began in June 1941 turned the tide once more.

7 ATTENDANCE FIGURES FOR JUNE 1942

In June 1942 Mr. R. A. Butler, the third President of the Board since 1939, told the Commons that full-time schooling had increased from 96·5 per cent. in March 1941 to 99 per cent. in March 1942. 44,506 out of 4,750,000 children were receiving part-time instruction, and only 0·22 per cent. (*i.e.* 8,250) were receiving no instruction. Attendance was less satisfactory. Out of 100 children on the registers of elementary schools, on the average 84 were in attendance, compared with the pre-war figure of 89.

8 PROFIT AND LOSS OF EVACUATION

Earlier in his speech Mr. Butler had quoted the view of an American observer who had recently returned to his own country :

It would not have been surprising if this enormous initial dislocation [he was referring to evacuation] had thoroughly uprooted and defeated the purposes of British education in the very beginning of the war. It is a miracle that in spite of their difficulties the schools have been able to carry on. The educational facilities at the level below the University are now carrying on with something like 93 per cent. efficiency, measured in terms of attendance, examination results, and the other normal standards of evaluation.³

Mr. Butler might also have quoted from a report made by the Chief Inspector for elementary schools :

The general picture of education in reception areas is encouraging rather than discouraging. . . . There can be no doubt that many children's lives have been greatly enriched by their removal from large towns and, in the case of children from the worst homes, the conditions that make for sound education have been substantially improved. . . . The new interests and the wider basis of first-hand

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experience which the children have been getting might, on any broad view of education, be felt to compensate for some falling-off in formal attainments. . . . In general, teachers have been forced to improvise, to depend less on school apparatus and to see more value in children's out-of-school activities and experience. This at its best has brought into school work a fresh reality and humanity.⁴

Mr. Butler stated, however, that he had instituted a series of short courses for teachers in rural subjects, physical training, musical and dramatic work, handicrafts, and domestic science. By this means he hoped to introduce a good deal more colour and interest into the curriculum.

In the debate which followed, Sir Percy Harris claimed that the percentage of children stated by the President to be attending school was misleading.

All my information [he said] is that there is a great increase in truancy. The trouble is that the education authorities are not in a position to trace the children. Boys and girls are running about the streets who have not been in school for a year or two. . . . Many thousands of children throughout the country have, for one reason or another, made no attendance at school and are growing up practically illiterate and uneducated. At a school to which I went yesterday I found boys of 13, quite normal children, who could not even read.* They had been in and out of school and have been evacuated, some half a dozen times and others even ten times. . . . Let us be frank. After the war, when things will be appallingly difficult, we shall have a generation of partly educated children. Either education—full-time education, with small classes—is a good thing or it is not. If it is a good thing, then these children will suffer in after life as a result of the conditions which have existed during the war. Now, in 1942, we have a so-called full session of education, but there is a shortage of school places, a shortage of staff, and the whole machinery built up during the last 30 years is in bits and pieces. Yesterday I was in two schools and saw teachers struggling with classes of 40 and 50 made up of boys and girls of ages ranging from 11 to 14. As for the reorganization plans inspired by the Hadow Report, providing for junior and senior schools, that has all gone to the wall. Where there used to be three head teachers there is now one. . . . I am speaking of London in particular, and conditions may be different in the provinces.⁵

* Yet these boys would have been ten when the war began, and should, if quite normal, have been good readers by that time.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

I JUVENILE ORGANIZATIONS COMMITTEE (1916-37)

IN December 1916, alarmed at the war-time increase in crime among boys and girls, the Home Secretary set up a Standing Committee to help him deal with juvenile delinquency by strengthening and extending the work of the various voluntary organizations that catered for the recreative and social interests of young people. At that time no suitable records of young offenders were being kept at police courts, and special forms had to be devised and distributed to representative areas in order to collect information on which general conclusions could be based. This all took time, and the report was not ready until 1920. Meanwhile, the Education Act of 1918 having recognized the social and physical training of the voluntary organizations as an object which might be assisted from educational funds, in 1920 the Juvenile Organizations Committee was transferred to the Board of Education. A number of local Juvenile Organizations Committees had been formed to give expression to the objects of the central J.O.C. in each area, and about 120 were in existence in 1920.

The Juvenile Delinquency Report suggested, among other things, that boys and girls who on leaving school became members of some club or other youth organization were much more law-abiding and useful citizens than those who spent their spare time roaming about the streets, and it was hoped that central and local planning would result in an extension of such valuable facilities.

For a couple of years the movement promised well, but the post-war slump nearly killed it. In 1922, when juvenile unemployment was widespread and on the increase, the central J.O.C. actually ceased to function, and only resumed its activities in 1924. By this time only 40 or 50 local J.O.C.'s

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The history of the movement for the next thirteen years is depressing. From time to time the central J.O.C. was reconstituted and its aims re-stated, but no great extension of the movement resulted. The minimum requirement of each local J.O.C. was a full-time paid secretary, who would survey the needs of the area, stimulate interest in the movement, and recommend the allocation of grants to deserving bodies. But money was not forthcoming either for the secretary's salary or for adequate grants. The better local committees, however, had by 1929 changed over from the negative purpose of preventing youthful crime to the positive one of meeting the needs of all young people.

In 1935 was inaugurated King George's Jubilee Trust, in commemoration of the silver jubilee of King George V. Its objects were the advancement of the physical, mental, and spiritual welfare of the younger generation. The bulk of the funds was devoted to the purchase of sports grounds known as King George's Playing Fields. This work continued up to the outbreak of war, supplementing the official youth movement.¹

2 NATIONAL FITNESS COUNCIL (1937-39)

In November 1937 the work of the central J.O.C. was handed over to the National Fitness Council, who set up a sub-committee to deal with it. In 1938 they published an excellent memorandum which went to the root of the matter, rightly attributing past failures to lack of funds and lack of public interest. At first the National Fitness Council were mainly concerned with the allocation of Government grants in aid of capital expenditure to improve facilities for physical training and recreation. Many schemes were submitted, and a number had been approved when war broke out in September 1939. The council found time, however, for a well-directed publicity campaign, which did much to stimulate interest in

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physical education among young people of 14 to 20 years of age. Officially the National Fitness Council was under the wing of the Board of Education, whose President answered questions about its work in Parliament. In May 1939 a circular from the Board to L.E.A.'s first referred to "Youth Organizations Committees," thus loosening the hold of the forbidding word "juvenile," which still persists in "juvenile courts," "juvenile delinquency," and elsewhere.

3 NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE (1939-42)

In September 1939 the National Fitness Council was dissolved and replaced by the National Youth Committee. Lord de la Warr, President of the Board of Education, explained to the House of Lords on 3rd October 1939, that in their desire to bring into the work everybody who was interested, the Government had created in the National Fitness Council a rather cumbrous machine, which had proved to be extremely slow-working. In these circumstances the suspension of the Council during the war had been inevitable, if only because in wartime it was essential to have a machine which could act quickly and act freely. Lack of contact and understanding between local authorities and the voluntary bodies had long been a difficulty, and this the National Fitness Council had not been very successful in overcoming.

One reason for this comparative lack of success was lack of professional qualifications. Though the Council included men and women athletes of international repute, scarcely one of them seems to have undergone a recognized course of physical education. This, while it did not affect the publicity campaign, put them at a disadvantage in dealing with local authorities whose physical training organizers had studied their subject professionally at Carnegie, Loughborough, Dartford, and other physical training colleges.

The general terms of reference of the N.Y.C. were : (a) to ensure the maintenance and development under war conditions of facilities for youth welfare ; (b) to facilitate the fullest co-operation in this field between L.E.A.'s and voluntary

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organizations ; (c) to advise Departments concerned as to the allocation of such assistance from public funds as might from time to time be made available.

A speech by His Majesty King George VI, calling for youth leaders, was probably responsible for the new life that was now infused into the youth movement. This was first seen in Circular 1486 of the Board of Education, entitled "The Service of Youth," and addressed to L.E.A.'s. Instead of the usual carefully balanced but uninspiring language, the circular was written in words of deep sincerity, urging every local authority to assume responsibility for the welfare of youth and to set up a properly constituted Youth Committee in its area. In view of the long association of the Board of Education with the youth movement, it is strange to find these words in the circular : "They [the Government] have accordingly decided that the Board of Education shall undertake a direct responsibility for youth welfare." The Board's reluctance to admit previous responsibility may at least be interpreted as the sign of a genuine change of heart. Certainly the response to the circular was astonishing. On 7th February 1940 the President was able to announce that the Board was making direct grants to the voluntary organizations and that over half the L.E.A.'s concerned had already taken action.

In Circular 1516 (June 1940), "The Challenge of Youth," the Board announced that the response of local authorities had been almost universal. More and better facilities were already beginning to be provided. They now suggested as a common aim for this national movement the building of character through social and physical training ; and "this implies developing the whole personality of individual boys and girls to enable them to take their place as full members of a free community." Local authorities were urged to take the initiative in their areas, provide the machinery for local co-operation, encourage existing organizations to extend their work, and fill the gaps not covered by such organizations. There need be no clash between statutory and voluntary effort, for there was ample room for a vast extension of all efforts.

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Progress would have been quicker had local authorities put more young men and women on their youth committees. In some cases the average age of the committee, though not approaching the record of the Football Association, whose five chief officers in 1933 averaged over 75 years, was so high that they were unlikely to have much knowledge of the needs of modern boys and girls. In one area the young people set up their own council and more or less obliged the L.E.A. to pay attention to their wishes.

Circular 1529 (November 1940), dealing with "Youth, Physical Recreation and Service," announced the setting up of a Directorate of Physical Training, to work with the Youth Branch of the Board and in co-operation with the War Office. It seems that "a very large number of the organizers and leaders of physical recreation previously employed by L.E.A.'s and voluntary organizations had been absorbed into the armed forces, which had also taken over completely, or in part, many premises and playing fields suitable for physical recreation." Nothing was said to explain why so many key men in the Service of Youth had been obliged or allowed to leave their posts, or why so many indispensable buildings and sports grounds had been surrendered.

The circular also referred, for the first time, to Youth Service Corps, and suggested their formation under the friendly supervision of local youth committees. In July 1940 the East Suffolk education authority had launched a scheme "for tackling, by means of a wide appeal based upon service to the community, the problem of the 60 per cent. of the 14- to 20-year-olds who were untouched by any existing organization." Young people in each village were invited to form a Youth Squad, to appoint their own leader and secretary, to find out for themselves what needed to be done in the locality, and then do it. Within three months 142 Youth Squads were functioning, with an average membership of about 100, of whom 52 per cent. were girls.² The splendid result of the East Suffolk appeal showed that what boys and girls want is the opportunity for doing worth-while jobs, however strenuous or difficult, rather than having games and free teas provided for

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them by well-meaning grown-ups. This rediscovery—for the Boy Scouts have always been run on this principle—has gradually shifted the emphasis of the movement as a whole from service of youth by grown-ups to service by youth of the community. The Youth Service Corps have another feature attractive to boys and girls—they organize and are responsible for their own activities, with a minimum of guidance and supervision by grown-ups.

Negotiations with the War Office resulted in a promise of "the gradual release, so far as military requirements allow, of qualified and experienced organizers and leaders who are willing to accept release, and whom their previous employers are prepared to re-engage." But the number who would satisfy these various conditions was unlikely to be large, and it was hoped to arrange for the part-time assistance of physical training instructors still serving in the Army. A careful reading of the circular, coupled with some knowledge of the very long hours of boys and girls at work in wartime, leaves the impression that physical recreation in the youth movement, which includes physical training, games, dancing, athletics, boxing, camping and rambling, cycling, fencing, rowing, and swimming, was likely to continue "to be increasingly handicapped."

Circular 1543 (March 1941) was entirely devoted to Youth Service Corps, which it recognized as a new phase of the Service of Youth. At all costs uniformity was to be avoided. "A Youth Service Corps should be a spontaneous local development, inspired in part by local sentiment and adapted to local needs." Variety and flexibility were essential. The circular also stressed the importance of "the development of a wide variety of recreative interests, indoor as well as outdoor, as part of the Youth Service." They helped "to maintain the 'holding' power of the squads and to develop the social sense." A hope was expressed that Youth Service would remain a permanent feature when the war was over. An appendix contained a list of nearly 100 different activities being carried out by Youth Service squads. Among those helped were the Services and Home Guard, Civil Defence

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services, W.V.S., and Women's Institutes, hospitals and Red Cross, war charities, food producers, housewives, local councils, billeting officers, and shopkeepers.

In the 1941 Christmas Day broadcast the King gave a fresh stimulus to the youth movement.

And I would say to the coming generation—the boys and girls of to-day, the men and women of to-morrow—train yourselves in body, mind, and spirit so as to be ready for whatever part you may be called upon to play, and for the tasks which await you as citizens of the Empire when the war is over. . . . Make yourselves ready . . . to give and to offer your very best.

This broadcast followed directly on Circular 1577 (December 1941) on "Registration of Youth." The Government had decided that boys and girls aged 16 to 18 should be required to register. The main purpose of this scheme was to reach those who had left school and were no longer under educational supervision and discipline, and "to encourage those who have not yet associated themselves with some youth organization or some form of service to do so."

By this time pre-Service training was available for boys in a variety of directions. For boys of 16* to 18 the Air Training Corps, launched in January 1941, had already shown by its extraordinarily rapid growth† what an appeal to hard work and the spirit of adventure could do. Other opportunities were provided by the Home Guard, with an entry of 17 (or in some cases 16), Sea Cadets (14-17), and Army Cadets (14-17).

The registration of girls was postponed until after September 1942, when the boys had all been registered, but a pamphlet issued by the Board of Education in March 1942 dealt with "Training and Service for Girls." The opportunities included pre-nursing courses (from 15½), St. John Ambulance Brigade Cadets (11-18), British Red Cross Society probationers (from 16), and much work for the W.V.S. and Women's Institutes. The pamphlet also dealt with pre-entry training suitable for girls who would be entering the women's services of H.M. Forces. The various qualifications for responsible

* Age of entry was subsequently lowered to 14.

† By March 1941, 160,000 members had been enrolled.

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work in the Forces were given under the headings: clerical, technical and mechanical, medical orderly work, cookery and catering, household hygiene and management.

The National Youth Committee carried on until June 1942, and under its auspices the organization of the Youth Service made good progress. By June 1942 every authority for higher education had set up a youth committee, large numbers of local youth organizers had been appointed,* and the initial work of laying the foundations of the Youth Service might be regarded as finished. At this point the President of the Board decided that to help him in the vast growth and expansion to which he was looking forward he needed an advisory body consisting of people actually working in the field of youth. Accordingly he decided to dissolve the National Youth Committee.

4 YOUTH ADVISORY COUNCIL (1942-)

In its place the President set up the Youth Advisory Council. In announcing this decision in the House of Commons on 16th June 1942, Mr. Butler pointed out that this would constitute the first attempt to include in one body the many types working in the field of youth—administrators, members of youth committees, and younger people included in the voluntary organizations and in the pre-Service organizations. In the Council were those who could speak for the Churches, those concerned with the point of view of young people, and those aware of the point of view of employers. There was also a representative of the juvenile courts with a knowledge of the problems of delinquency.

Though given no formal terms of reference, the Youth Advisory Council themselves defined their function as three-fold :

1. To consider and advise on problems remitted to them by the Board.
2. To act as a channel by which information concerning the Youth Service and its problems can reach the Board.

* By August 1942 the Board had knowledge of the appointment of 117 county and county borough youth organizers in England, and 7 in Wales.

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3. To train men to originate ideas for the development and improvement of the Youth Service and to put suggestions to the Board.

In Wales the National Youth Committee was found a satisfactory instrument for its purpose and remained in being.

In outlining his proposals, the President added this significant passage :

At this stage, I must bring the Committee* hard up against the fact that the great mass of our children end their education suddenly at the age of 14. We vote these millions in our estimates, and then we cease to exercise continued care and supervision over our adolescents. I do not believe that this gap can be met simply by raising the school-leaving age to 15, or even to 16, but I think we should take the former step whenever we get the chance. The fact that there is a new registration scheme for youths between 16 and 18 has meant that it is now recognized that, up to at least 18, young people should be regarded as still falling within the purview of the education authorities and the Board of Education. Indeed, that scheme is a new province in the service of education. . . . But if we are to do what is right by the health and welfare of our young people, some continued supervision is necessary, and we must also secure recognition of the fact that, in the first years of their employment, young people should be treated as learners, and not simply as earners. . . .³ Yesterday, the first meeting took place of representatives of industry—both employers and employed—and of the Ministry of Labour, the Board of Education, and the Scottish Office. All these interests have been brought together, by agreement, to consider the vital question of vocational training in relation to employment.⁴

While the Service of Youth movement concerns itself chiefly with boys and girls who have already left school, many schools have set up Youth Service Corps of their own. Mr. Kenneth Lindsay has observed that "the impact of this movement on the curriculum and purpose of Public, Secondary, and Senior Schools has yet to be felt, but it is safe to say that its influence will be important. The idea of individual advancement may give place to a conception of service with higher and broader ideals of development."⁵

* The House of Commons was considering the Civil Estimates 1942 in Committee.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

I WHAT IS A PUBLIC SCHOOL?

THE confusion in the public mind about the public schools is deep-seated and widespread. Lengthy discussions about their future have appeared since 1940 in many of the leading journals and periodicals; yet it is doubtful whether even the comparatively small section of the public who read these papers are at all clear in their minds as to what is meant to-day by a public school. It follows that thoughts and discussions on the subject even among teachers and other educationists are largely invalidated. Now that the Government have not only defined public schools, but set up a Committee "to consider means whereby the association between the Public Schools and the general educational system of the country could be developed and extended,"* the time has come when a book dealing with the general educational system of the country can no longer exclude this important type of secondary school from consideration. The purpose of this section is to trace briefly the history of the public schools during the last two hundred years, and thus provide the necessary background for any consideration of the part to be played by them in the next fifty years.

One of the commonest gibes at the public schools is that though intended by their founders for poor boys, they are now accessible only to the sons of well-to-do parents. This is true of a few famous foundations whose endowments proved inadequate to modern needs and had to be supplemented by fees, or which changed themselves from day-schools to boarding schools when they attracted pupils from a distance, but it is quite untrue of the public schools as a whole. At least half of these are already open to boys from elementary schools,

* Mr. R. A. Butler, in the House of Commons, 2nd July 1948

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while many of the remainder were expressly founded to train boys for the Church, the Army, and other professions, and continue to fulfil their founders' intentions.*

"Public school" was defined in 1909 by the editors of the *Oxford Dictionary* as "A school which is public, in senses varying with time and place." In this country the term has passed through four stages, each of which has contributed something to its final meaning. The first three stages are set out in the *Oxford Dictionary*.¹

(1) The first stage is thus defined: "In England, originally, a grammar school founded or endowed for the use or benefit of the public, either generally, or of a particular locality, and carried on under some kind of public management or control; often contrasted with a 'private school' carried on at the risk and for the profit of its master or proprietors."

The term, which in Latin goes back to the first century A.D., was first used in English in 1580, "All such schoolmasters as have charge of children and do instruct them either in public schools or private houses." An Act of James I, 1604, contains the words, "No person shall keepe any schoole . . . except it be in some publike or free Grammar Schoole, or in some such noblemans . . . or gentlemen . . . house as are not recusants." In 1707, under the heading "Public Schools and Colleges," we find, "the first is Westminster School . . . St. Paul's School . . . Merchant-Taylors' School. . . . Belonging to Christ's Hospital is another famous Grammar Free School." In 1713 George Berkeley wrote, "I regard our public schools and universities, not only as nurseries of men for the service of the church and state. . . ." In 1749 Fielding wrote in *Tom Jones*, "This worthy man having observed the imperfect institution of our public schools, and the many vices which boys were there liable to learn, had resolved to educate his nephew . . . in his own house." In 1760 Samuel Foote went still further with, "He has run the gauntlet through a public school, where, at sixteen, he had practis'd more vices than he would otherwise have heard of at sixty."

* E.g. Epsom (Medicine), Haileybury (Church and I.C.S.), Marlborough (Church), Wellington (Army)

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These last two quotations almost certainly refer to boarding schools, and belong to a transitional period in which the term "public school" was acquiring a narrower meaning. Mr. Archer writes, "At the close of the eighteenth century the distinction between the 'public schools' and the rest of the grammar schools is well established. The public schools were merely those of the grammar schools which had increased in numbers and prestige while the rest declined. Two changes had occurred which served to differentiate them; they had increased the numbers of their staff, and they had become boarding schools."²

(2) This second stage in the meaning of public school is thus defined: "In recent English use (chiefly from the 19th century) applied especially to such of the old endowed grammar-schools as have developed into large boarding-schools, drawing, from the well-to-do classes of all parts of the country or of the empire, pupils, who in the higher forms are prepared mainly for the ancient universities or for the public services. . . ."

The rise in the eighteenth century of a few great schools, such as Westminster, Eton, Winchester, and Harrow, at the expense of the country grammar schools, to which the local nobility and gentry had formerly sent their sons, was due largely to the improvement in communications which made long journeys to distant schools practicable. Two further causes of the decline of the country grammar schools were their steady refusal to admit dissenters, many of whom had grown rich in commerce or manufacture and joined the ranks of the local aristocracy, and their rejection of modern languages and modern subjects. Where they still tried to preserve some semblance of higher education, they were often taught by the nearest vicar or curate, and were reduced to ten or fewer boys.

Thus at Stamford in 1729 there were five boys; at Birmingham in 1734, none; at Moulton in 1744, none; at Warnfleet in 1753, none; at Oundle in 1762, one entry, in 1779 four in the school, in 1789 none. At Repton between 1779 and 1800 fifteen boys were admitted. Often for half a century no more than half a dozen boys had been known to attend the school; sometimes this

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the case for a century, while a large proportion of the schools had been definitely converted into elementary schools, and bad ones at that.³

It is not surprising, therefore, that the few successful public schools gradually came to monopolize the name in the public mind. Yet all was not well with these schools, as the quotations from Fielding and Foote show, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century they seemed doomed.

In the first three decades of the century the public schools were in a parlous state. Their low moral tone, their narrow classical curriculum, their poor intellectual results, their roughness and bullying, their bad feeding and housing, were no longer likely to be tolerated merely because they were established institutions. Demands for their suppression were already beginning to be heard.⁴

Discipline in the schools was particularly bad. No sort of confidence existed between masters and boys, and the elder boys, so far from setting a good example to their juniors, were the ringleaders in disobedience.

From this unpromising condition the schools were rescued largely through the influence of Dr. Thomas Arnold, the forceful headmaster of Rugby School from 1828 until his death in 1842. Arnold's great contribution was the prefect system, by means of which the senior boys (in the case of Rugby, the sixth form) were ranged on the side of law and order and spread the headmaster's moral influence throughout the school. Arnold inaugurated a period of reform during which the tone and discipline of the schools were greatly improved. School chapels were built, and became such a powerful influence for good that until the end of the century clerical headmasters were almost universally appointed to the larger schools. As a result of reforms at the universities the teaching became more efficient, and the school curriculum was widened to include mathematics and French, which had previously ranked as extras. Boys were better fed and housed and consequently better able to apply themselves to their studies. At this time also began the housemaster system, under which each boy is put in the special charge of a member

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of the teaching staff. This was merely an extension of the old idea of boarding houses, which had been private ventures, run for profit, in the neighbourhood of some public school. The dames' houses at Eton, the Commoners' houses at Winchester, and the town boys at Westminster were examples of the earlier form.

In spite of improvements, only Eton and Rugby of the seven great boarding schools stood high in public favour in the eighteen-thirties and 'forties. The seven, in order of foundation, were : Winchester (1387), Eton (1440), Shrewsbury (1551), Westminster (1560), Rugby (1567), Harrow (1571), and Charterhouse (1611). Harrow under Wordsworth (1835-44) dropped to 69 boys. Charterhouse in 1832 was down to 104. Westminster, which had 324 boys in 1818, was down to 100 in 1835, and below 80 in 1841. Shrewsbury under Kennedy had 133 in 1841, and scarcely rose for twenty years, and Winchester as late as 1836 had 68 boys, of whom only one was a fee-payer. However, public confidence grew, and the new middle-class created by the industrial revolution was strongly attracted to the public schools.

The increasing demand for public school education was met partly by the rise of some of the older grammar schools, such as Uppingham, which became indistinguishable from the original seven, and partly by the establishment of new schools on the same lines. These included Cheltenham College (1841), Marlborough College (1843), Rossall School (1844), Wellington College (1853), Epsom College (1853), Clifton College (1860), Haileybury College (1862), and Malvern College (1865).

(3) The third stage in the meaning of public school was reached when the term came to be applied also "to some large modern schools established with similar aims" to the public schools of the second stage.

The term "public school" was officially used in 1860 in the appointment of a Royal Commission, and in 1868 in the resulting Act "for the better government and extension of certain Public Schools." The Act dealt only with the seven ancient foundations mentioned above, but the Royal Commis-

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sion were originally asked to report also on St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors'. These were not dealt with until the Endowed Schools Acts of 1869-74, which resulted from the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1867, but their right to be called public schools was plainly acknowledged. It followed that a public school need not necessarily be a boarding school.

The third stage in the meaning of public school continued until the war of 1914-18. In 1909, according to the *Oxford Dictionary*, "the name is generally used to include these (the seven) and more than twenty other large schools, ancient and modern, of similar organization, which are not separated by any definite line from other endowed schools that depend upon a more local constituency."

The modern organization of the public schools is largely due to the efforts of the Rev. Edward Thring, headmaster of Uppingham (1853-84). Thring was the first to tackle the health problem. He not only limited the number of boys in each house, but insisted on their being under the care of the school doctor. When typhoid broke out at Uppingham, owing to defective drainage, Thring moved his entire school to Borth (Cardigan) until a pure water supply was tardily provided by the local authority. Thring was the first to introduce organized games, as a means of training character, into the school curriculum (1862).^{*} He built the first school gymnasium and the first school swimming bath. Carpenters' shops and school gardens are also due to him. If Arnold saved the public schools by making them respectable, it was Thring who humanized them. Believing that the average boy mattered, he gave each boy a study and a cubicle of his own, limited classes to 25, and held that the stupider the boys, the cleverer the teacher should be.

(4) The fourth and last stage in the meaning of "public school" coincided roughly with the twenty years of peace from 1919 to 1939, but the fourth definition was only given on 2nd July 1942 in an official answer by the President of the Board of Education. His words were: "... the Public Schools (by which term is meant schools which are in membership

^{*} An innovation which did not reach the State schools for over forty years.

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of the Governing Bodies' Association or Headmasters' Conference)." These words seem to have excited little curiosity at the time ; perhaps this was intentional. But inquiries show that the Governing Bodies' Association, whose full title is "The Association of Governing Bodies of Public Schools," has at present 149 members, and the Headmasters' Conference has 189 members, excluding over 30 oversea members. Membership of the Governing Bodies' Association is confined mainly to schools for boys (including co-educational schools) in the British Isles receiving no grants from public moneys, or receiving direct grant from the Board of Education in return for a fixed number of special places reserved for elementary school-children. The former class of members, known as Independent Schools, numbers 86, the Direct Grant Schools 54. Nine further schools have been admitted to membership for various reasons, though not qualified as Independent or Direct Grant Schools.

The Headmasters' Conference (or H.M.C.) embraces all but two of the members of the G.B.A., and also includes about 40 grant-aided schools for which the county councils or county borough councils are responsible. The Conference began in 1869, when Thring of Uppingham sent out invitations to thirty-seven of the leading English schools. In December of that year twelve headmasters met at his house and founded a "School Society and Annual Conference." The following year the Conference met at Sherborne and numbered 34. Since then the number of members has steadily grown, and is now approaching the fixed limit of 200.⁵ In 1909 the H.M.C. was incorporated. The conditions under which a school may be represented at the H.M.C. are set out in the official handbook :

that the school should be controlled in the public interest by a Governing Body created by some statute, scheme, or other trust deed, and that in considering what schools should be included in the list of Members or removed from it, the Committee will have regard to the following qualifications :

1. The degree of independence enjoyed by the Governing Body and Headmaster.

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2. The number of boys over 13 years of age in the school.
3. The number in proportion to this doing post-School Certificate work, and the quality and variety of that work.
4. The number of undergraduates from the School in British Universities.

The H.M.C., however, never claimed that its members alone were entitled to call themselves "public schools," though this view gained ground steadily until it was largely endorsed by Mr. Butler's definition. It will be seen that the title of "public school" now presupposes the comparative freedom of the school to manage its own affairs, and a high standard of work. Whether the school is a boarding or a day school is irrelevant, and so are the sources of its income and the origin of its pupils.

The Governing Bodies' Association was founded as recently as 1941, but the speed with which it reached its present membership shows that it meets a real need. In the past, governing bodies were content to consult each other informally, leaving it to their headmasters to get into touch with the public schools as a whole through the H.M.C. Now that the lower birth-rate, increased taxation, and other causes have combined to threaten the future of some of the independent, and to a lesser extent of the direct grant schools, it was felt desirable that an association should be formed which could work out a common policy in regard to school finances, age of entry, type of religious instruction, and other matters which lie outside the sphere of a headmaster. The Association aims, however, at working in the closest collaboration with the H.M.C., and they have a Joint Standing Committee to discuss matters of common interest.

Opponents of the more famous boarding schools often refer to them disdainfully as "the so-called public schools," and contrast them to their disadvantage with what they call the real public schools, namely public elementary or secondary schools. Yet all elementary education in England was private until after the Education Act of 1870, when the great public schools had long been in sole enjoyment of their historic title, and had, moreover, had it confirmed only a few years before

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by Act of Parliament. It is hardly their fault if the title has now been applied in a different sense to a new type of school, which might equally well have been called a State school.

Nor is the title so inappropriate as some think. Not only do these schools serve a far wider public geographically, but they represent a wider cross-section of the public than any other type of school. That they are not public in the sense of being open to all citizens, irrespective of their means, is not their fault. The great boarding schools offered to open their doors to elementary school-children over twenty years ago, but the offer was declined by the Government, as will be explained in the next section.

2 PAST AND PRESENT ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE STATE AND THE STATE SYSTEM

The associations between the public schools and the State system of education have steadily increased both in variety and volume during the past forty years. Over eighty years ago the appointment of the Royal Commission of 1860 tacitly acknowledged that the future of the great public schools was a matter of national importance. The success of the Commission led to the appointment of the Schools Inquiry Commission (1867) and the passing of the resulting Endowed Schools Acts. Many of the schools which as the years went by attained public school status were given a fresh lease of life by the Endowed Schools Acts and by the schemes of the Charity Commissioners, who took over from the Endowed School Commissioners in 1874. The Charity Commission was a Government department, whose educational responsibilities were passed on to the Board of Education created by the Act of 1899.

Yet the H.M.C., it will be remembered, had been most apprehensive of the possible Government control of the public schools foreshadowed in the Bryce Commission Report (1895), and had persuaded the Commission to recommend the appointment of an Educational Council consisting of independent representative educationists whose duty it would be to advise

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the responsible Minister. The Consultative Committee set up by the Board of Education Act fell far short of the proposed Educational Council, since it was allowed no power of initiative. On the other hand the Board was granted no real jurisdiction over the public schools, being charged generally "with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales." However, the framers of the Act clearly hoped that the Board would establish friendly relations with the public schools, for Section 3 (1) permitted the Board to "inspect any school supplying secondary education and desiring to be so inspected."

The dates on which some of the leading independent public schools were recognized by the Board after inspection provide a clue to their gradually changing attitude towards central supervision. Of twenty-five leading English schools to-day—a list which does not include any schools founded since the war of 1914–18—only nine had been recognized by the Board up to 1914. Nine others, including Harrow and Rugby of the original seven, were recognized between 1919 and 1921, and two more in the same decade. Then there was a break until the last three—Eton (1936), Shrewsbury (1936), Oundle (1937). St. Paul's and Uppingham, where the H.M.C. originated, do not appear to have been inspected yet.

Another link between the public schools and the Board of Education was forged in 1917, when the school certificate and higher certificate examinations were inaugurated. Though these examinations are conducted by the universities, the Board acts as co-ordinating authority and ultimately controls policy. It is assisted by the Secondary School Examinations Council, on which several public school headmasters have served with distinction, notably Sir Cyril Norwood, formerly headmaster of Harrow, who has acted as its chairman for many years.

In 1918 Mr. Fisher's Act provided for the free inspection of all schools outside the national system, at their own request. It also imposed the duty on those responsible for such schools of furnishing the Board with a short description of the school and such further particulars as might be prescribed, by the

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Board's regulations.⁷ This seems to be the only direct central control to which independent schools have been subjected.

In 1919 took place a most important meeting between representatives of the H.M.C. and the President of the Board of Education, Mr. Fisher, himself an Old Wykehamist, at which the Conference schools in a body offered to open their doors to elementary school-children. After the war of 1914-18 a number of the smaller schools represented at the Conference found that they would be unable to carry on without State aid to provide pensions for their masters comparable to those now available for all teachers in State-aided schools by the Teachers' Superannuation Act. This aid always involves the provision each year of a fixed percentage of special places, at present varying from 10 per cent. to 25 per cent. of the total entry, for day boys from the local elementary schools; and the smaller public schools feared that this arrangement might compromise their status as public schools in the eyes of the parents. What happened at the special meeting of the H.M.C. called to discuss the situation has been told by Mr. (now Sir) Frank Fletcher of Charterhouse, chairman of the Conference :

I put forward from the chair a proposal, which was accepted, that the schools which could afford to give pensions without applying for State aid should voluntarily accept the same conditions of State service as those which applied for and received it. We were prepared to offer as a voluntary service, or rather to claim as a privilege, that share in the education of ex-elementary schoolboys which was demanded by the State from the other schools.⁸

On 3rd April 1919, Mr. Fletcher, Dr. Alington of Eton, and Dr. Norwood of Marlborough took this offer to Mr. H. A. L. Fisher. Mr. Fletcher's account continues :

We were told at the time that there was no demand for places in our schools for ex-elementary schoolboys, but that the Board appreciated our willingness and desire to co-operate, and would call on us if need and opportunity arose.

Mr Fletcher's own comment is instructive :

1. It is eminently desirable, both for our schools and for our country, that such boys should be admitted by us.

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2. The opposition to their admission has not proceeded from the "public" school.
3. The obstacles to their admission are practical and financial, not social.

On 2nd June 1919 Mr. Fisher wrote a letter to Mr. Fletcher, thanking him for the offer :

It is full of encouragement for the future of English education. It represents a sincere desire to make the public system of education as comprehensive, as accessible, and as effective as possible, and a readiness to co-operate with the Board of Education which I am bound to acknowledge with gratitude. I think that we recognize as clearly as you do the importance of diversity and individuality both inside and outside the State-aided system of education, and the value of tradition.

Later in his letter, in discussing the possible contribution of the "public schools," he wrote :

I think that possibly the schools might render the best service by educating promising pupils from other schools at a relatively late age—say 15 and over. The transfer of pupils is almost a necessary incident of the systematic organization of facilities for advanced education, especially for pupils attending small schools in rural areas. *

This letter finally disposes of the charge, frequently heard to-day, that the present willingness of the boarding schools to discuss the admission of boys from the elementary schools is a case of death-bed repentance.

At least two of the residential public schools have long taken elementary schoolboys. In one case the endowments cover the entire cost both of tuition and of boarding. In the other the headmaster is headmaster also of the local grammar school, where the tuition fees per annum are from two to four guineas. As soon as a boy in the local grammar school has passed the school certificate examination he moves automatically into the post-certificate form of the adjoining public school, an arrangement which, apart from other advantages, results in a great saving of teaching strength, and might well serve as a model for reorganization elsewhere. A

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recent headmaster of another well-known school gained the permission of his governing body to take children from elementary schools, but powerful labour organizations opposed the scheme and prevented its adoption.

In 1936 pupils in public schools became eligible for State scholarships ; and in 1942 for cheap milk under the milk-in-schools scheme.

Local education authorities have been well served, especially in recent years, by able public school men who have chosen a career in local government in preference to entering the Civil Service. The State grammar schools, too, owe much of their success to the public schools, whose staffs have supplied them with some of their most famous headmasters. In this way much that is best in the public school tradition has been passed on to the grammar schools, many of which, though day schools, have even adopted the house system with excellent results.

3 PROPOSED EXTENSION OF FACILITIES

In recent years there has been a growing feeling in this country that it is inconsistent with the principles of democracy that there should exist side by side two more or less separate systems of education—the public schools, with their preparatory and pre-preparatory schools, entry to which depends in most cases on the size of the parents' income, and the State system of secondary and elementary schools, where the education costs either nothing or what the parents, though poor, can reasonably afford.

A small but vocal section of the public demands that the public schools (by which they probably mean the independent schools) should be abolished. Since these independent schools are not at present receiving any public money, it is difficult to see how this could be done, unless parents were forbidden by law to send their children to these schools. And this would be difficult, since they are nearly all recognized by the Board as efficient.

Another section of the public, who regard the boarding public schools as institutions which teach snobbery and the

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worship of games, think that they should be left to sink or swim. Any that are worth saving, they claim, will survive, while the rest will die out without loss to the nation. In any case, they regard a day school education as better than boarding school education for all but a few children whose home life is in some way abnormal, and have no wish to see an extension of boarding school facilities.

This point of view is entitled to respect, though those who hold it have usually had little or no recent contact with the residential public schools, and are unaware of the great internal changes that have taken place there since the war of 1914-18. In the opinion of the present writer, who kept in close touch with one such school and visited many others during this period, and has in the last three years seen two others from the inside, this charge of snobbery can rarely be substantiated. Where snobbery exists it is nearly always the fault of the home rather than of the school. Since the slump of 1931 extremely few public schoolboys have been free from the necessity of earning their own living when they grow up. As a result, they tend to work harder at school and university and to have a more realistic attitude to life. Games, though always important to healthy boys, and of great educational value if properly taught and organized, no longer hold a predominant position, a change which is reflected in the greater amount of space in the school magazine devoted to other interests.

During the present war, shortages of domestic and ground staff have given public schoolboys fresh opportunities of service which most of them have cheerfully undertaken, in addition to the numerous forms of war service such as membership of the J.T.C. or A.T.C., Home Guard, salvage collection, food production, tractor driving, and harvesting. Schools which have been evacuated to safer areas, or whose buildings and grounds have been requisitioned by the Government, have faced and overcome countless difficulties, largely through the initiative and public spirit of the boys themselves. It is hard to believe that such schools merit abolition.

A third and steadily increasing section of the public believes that the independent public schools have something

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valuable to offer and worth preserving, but its members differ on the means by which this is to be achieved.

The Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education in their memorandum on educational policy regard it as "fundamental to the development of a truly national system of education that the private preparatory schools and public schools and the schools financed wholly or in part from the public purse should be merged into one system which provides for all children according to their capacity and promise."¹⁰ "The basis on which grants-in-aid to pupils are made should be common to the whole post-primary system ; there should be the same minimum leaving age of 16 years ; and in all schools the education should be free. This necessitates . . . that all grant-aided schools should receive their aid from the local education authority subject to conditions of aid laid down by the local education authority and approved by the Board of Education. One effect of this will be that the system of direct grants to individual schools will be abolished."¹¹

Another sub-group is in favour of retaining the direct grant system, and cannot see what prevents the independent public schools—if they need financial aid—from joining the State system as direct grant schools. Their cases, however, are very different. Unlike the independent public schools, most direct grant schools are predominantly day schools, so that the day pupils from the elementary schools enjoy the normal opportunities that are available. In the few schools where day boys are in a great minority it must be extremely difficult for the elementary schoolboys to be assimilated. Besides, a number of the great boarding schools are situated far from any large centre of population, and the number of local elementary schoolboys of suitable ability would, therefore, be negligible. Again, though 11 plus may be a suitable age for transfer to a day school, it might be found too early for a residential public school.

Lord Elton may be taken as representative of a third sub-group. In his recent book, after saying that the public schools are the one distinctively English educational invention, often copied but nowhere reproduced, he continues :

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With taxation rising to nineteen shillings and sixpence in the pound, and the owners of fixed incomes, as always, hardest hit, it is clear that the class which could afford to pay for the expensive privilege of sending its children to the public schools will soon cease to be able to do so. For the schools state assistance will be the only alternative to gradual extinction. And state assistance will only be accorded on conditions. These, it is to be hoped, will not include state control. The individuality and variety of the schools, and the high standard of their teaching staffs, would be unlikely to survive bureaucratic centralization. One condition of state assistance, however, is bound to be free places for children from the state elementary schools. And once the principle of free places has been accepted, the proportion of free places is likely steadily to increase.¹²

Lord Elton further writes :

In the last century they [the public schools] were largely responsible for the creation of a new class, compounded of the old feudal aristocracy and the new commercial and professional middle class, and more or less represented by the "gentleman." In this century there is no reason why they should not play a central part in the extension of that class, destined now to be increasingly recruited from the lowest economic strata of society, into a new social aggregate whose gradual fusion (if it does not prove too comprehensive to wear a label at all) may well again proceed beneath the now time-honoured label of "gentleman." In the last century the appearance of the gentleman as a new social phenomenon meant also a new moral phenomenon, the extension of "gentlemanly" conduct through the new professional codes. In the new century the new schools will doubtless help to extend the notion of gentlemanly conduct, of the professional ideal of service, further than these have yet penetrated, into the realm of industry and commerce. . . . All this depends . . . upon the public schools themselves carrying over into the new phase their traditional emphasis upon the training of character—or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, their training in citizenship.¹³

On 16th June 1942 Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, made the following statement in the House of Commons :

Hitherto, the secondary education of the State has been almost entirely provided by day schools. It has been felt for some time that children should have more variety of choice. In fact, it would be well if children could have an opportunity of going either to a

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senior modern school, a technical school, or a grammar school, according to their capabilities, after leaving the junior stage. But it may be that there should be another choice, a boarding school education. From my investigations, it appears that many pupils, or their parents, who may speak for them, do not desire a boarding education, but there is a growing feeling that there is some advantage in the corporate life of this type of schooling, which should be made more widely available. This is a large and comprehensive question. Different views are held and expressed on the subject. I have recently had a request from the Governing Bodies' Association of the public schools and from the Headmasters' Conference that a body should be set up to work out a plan under which the facilities of a boarding-school education might be extended to those who desire to profit by them, irrespective of their means. The Government have decided to set up such a body.¹⁴

Mr. Butler gave the names of the members of the committee, of which Lord Fleming is chairman, in the House of Commons on 2nd July 1942. "I am asking the Committee," he said, "to consider means whereby the association between the Public Schools (by which term is meant schools which are in membership of the Governing Bodies' Association or Headmasters' Conference) and the general educational system of the country could be developed and extended, also to consider how far any measures recommended in the case of boys' Public Schools could be applied to comparable schools for girls."

Speaking on 27th July 1942 at Malvern College prize-giving, Mr. Butler returned to the subject.

It might be expected to-day that I would make a formal statement on my preference for boarding or day school education. But I have no need to do that. My whole philosophy has been that there are merits in all the different types of education in this country, and we must preserve their merits and enlarge the number of those who enjoy them. . . . I am not here to pronounce in favour of boarding or day school education: I am here to say that *both* should develop that sense of responsibility, which the apostles of one or the other system are always trying to claim for their own particular type of school. As I see it, Educational Reform will depend for its value on the extent of success we have in training up leaders for the future and in choosing the best from every nook and cranny in the country. You cannot produce leaders without providing a variety of different schools and then inculcating responsibility in them.

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4 SOME PROBLEMS OF THE FLEMING COMMITTEE

(a) *Cost*

The task of the Fleming Committee is no light one. First, there is the question of cost. It has been said that a boarding school education is seven or eight times as expensive as a day school education, and that it is therefore out of the question for the State to subsidize it. This statement, however, does not bear close inspection. A public school whose fees are £150 per annum provides a boy with board, lodging, and tuition for about 36 weeks in the year, at the rate of rather less than four guineas per week. The same boy would probably cost his parents about 22s. 6d. a week if he were living at home, while the cost of his education at a good day school, where (as in a boarding school) masters' salaries are the chief item of expenditure, would be not less than £1 per week, though the fees charged to parents might be considerably less, owing to State aid. If these calculations are correct, a good boarding school education costs only about twice as much as a good day school education.

It should, moreover, be possible to reduce to some extent the disparity in cost between a boarding and a day school. The popular description of the residential public school as a "luxury hotel" may at various times have applied to individual houses at a few great schools. It has never had any general application, while the progressive economies necessitated by the 1931 slump and the present war make the description wholly inapplicable to-day. Much of the extra cost of a boarding school is due to the more generous ratio of masters to boys. Nor is this an extravagance, for the proper organization of the full out-of-school life provided requires a larger staff than would be necessary in a day school, which takes boys for seven or eight hours a day and not at all at the week-end. Unfortunately, as Mr. Donald Hughes has pointed out, "Many of our older Public Schools have been so constructed that there is an enormous amount of avoidable waste in their organization."¹⁶ He suggests central catering

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and cooking as a remedy, as it will reduce not only the cost of domestic staffs but the actual waste of foodstuffs. But it is probable that most of these schools are already doing what they can in this way. Central cooking necessitates kitchens and equipment near a suitable dining-hall, and these may be impossible to provide in wartime. Domestic staffs are already greatly reduced, so that the boys have their full share of household duties to perform. Some economies might still be made in school colours and the printing of school notices, etc., and the opportunities of spending money at the school tuck-shop and elsewhere on inessentials might be still further restricted. But with all these economies a residential education will remain more expensive than a day school education, and it will be for the nation to decide whether the extra cost is justified.

(b) *Age of Entry*

Another problem, involving the future of the private preparatory schools, of which about 350 were recognized by the Board as efficient in 1938-39, is the age of entry. The normal age of entry to the residential public schools has for many years been 13 plus. This allows a five-year course in the preparatory school from 8 plus to 13 plus, and a five-year course in the public school from 13 plus to 18 plus, and seems to work well. Most preparatory schoolmasters will agree that only a few boys who mature early are ready for a residential public school before the age of 13, while a number of late developers will do best if they stay on at the preparatory school until nearly 14. This suggests that an average leaving age of 13 plus is not far wrong.

In the State system the junior elementary school course lasts from 7 plus to 11 plus, followed by a three-year course in the senior elementary school till 14 plus. When the school-leaving age is raised to 15 plus, there will be a four-year junior course followed by a four-year senior course. Children who leave the elementary school at 11 plus to proceed to a secondary (grammar) school, have normally a five-year course from 11 plus to 16 plus, only comparatively few staying on till 18 plus.

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If it is thought desirable that elementary school-children should proceed to public schools, how is the gap between 11 plus, the age of leaving the junior school, and 13 plus, the age of entry to the public school, to be bridged? Various solutions have been offered.

The Directors and Secretaries for Education are in favour of having a common school at the primary stage "which would be attended by all children of suitable age in the locality, subject to the provision of residential common schools for children for whom such schools are necessary and desirable."¹⁶ This would mean abolishing the present preparatory school system, but retaining a certain number of the schools in the State system, with an entry age of 7 plus and a leaving age of 11 plus. At this age boys would proceed to the public schools, whose age of entry would thus be lowered by two years. Not only this, for whereas a clever boy nowadays starts learning Latin and French, for instance, at the age of 8 plus in a preparatory school, in a junior elementary school no foreign languages are attempted. These and certain other subjects are normally begun at the secondary (grammar) school. The entry to public schools of boys of 11 plus with no knowledge of Latin, French, algebra, or geometry would, therefore, necessitate a complete reorganization of the curriculum. The best solution might be a junior department for boys of 11 plus to 13 plus, who would be subject to the type of discipline found at a good preparatory school to-day. Junior departments already exist at some public schools, and seem to work satisfactorily.

Another solution of the difficulty would be for all children to "go to a common day school until 11 plus. After that, children who seemed most likely to benefit by a boarding school education might be sent to the residential preparatory schools, which would be brought within the State system, but with an age-range of only two years. Here they would be introduced to the various subjects that are studied in grammar and public schools. The period would be probationary, and boys who were found unable to tackle the new subject successfully could be transferred to junior technical, modern,

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or technical high schools, if then existing. This arrangement would obviate a difficulty from which the grammar schools suffer to-day. The junior scholarship or special place examination, on the result of which entry to these schools is decided, consists, as a rule, of a general intelligence test and papers in English and arithmetic. Success in this examination by no means ensures that a child possesses the special abilities—linguistic, mathematical, and so on—necessary for success in a grammar school. Success in arithmetic, for example, gives little indication of a child's potentialities in algebra, geometry, or trigonometry, and until some new predictive tests can be invented, a number of children are likely to receive a grammar school education who would do better elsewhere.

A third solution, that the preparatory schools and public schools should retain their present age-ranges, but that the best boys in the day grammar schools should be creamed off and sent to the public schools at the age of 13 plus seems a most unwise one and least likely to be adopted. Not only would it seriously lower the standards of the day school, but it would put it in an intolerable position of inferiority. This improbable solution is only mentioned here since it has been the cause of much unnecessary anxiety and antagonism to the public schools on the part of grammar school headmasters.

(c) *Speech*

Nothing divides people so much as difference of speech, and though it is not claimed that all present-day public schoolboys speak good English, the speech of the new-comers would in most cases be markedly inferior and might prove a barrier between the two groups. The solution of this difficulty would lie in the appointment to the staff of each school of at least one speech expert, whose duty it would be to give regular speech training to all new boys during their first year in the school, and longer if necessary. In the case of boys from working-class homes, certain vowel sounds would need special care, while boys from the professional class would often need help in overcoming lip-laziness and faulty voice production.

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(d) *Dress and Pocket-money*

Dress reform would be necessary in some schools both in the interests of economy and to enable all boys to start equal. Tail-coats, "Etons," unusual straw hats, and other interesting survivals would disappear. Every item of school clothing should be hard-wearing, practical, and equally suited to the holidays. Widely varying scales of pocket-money cause much needless discontent in public schools to-day, some parents being fondly lavish, others almost too strict. In the new public schools all boys should have the same amount of pocket-money, and private food parcels from home or local shops should be forbidden.

Boys from working-class homes will receive a warm welcome from staff and boys alike, and if a few sensible precautions are taken, will soon settle down happily in their new surroundings.

CHAPTER XXVI

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

I THE GREEN BOOK

IN the early summer of 1941 a memorandum on post-war education prepared by officers of the Board of Education was issued confidentially to representatives of local authorities, teachers' associations, and other bodies with which the Board are associated in the education service. The memorandum, known from its cover as the Green Book, was intended to serve as a basis for preliminary talks between the Board and the various bodies, and the Board was in no way committed to the views expressed in it. The memorandum roused intense interest and curiosity, not only in the educational world but among the general public, yet the Board refused repeated requests for the proposals to be made public. This action on their part was in line with their traditional fear of publicity. However, on 24th October 1941, the new President, Mr. Butler, published a "Summary of main subjects and questions covered by the Memorandum," with the reservation that "other subjects not mentioned in the statement and not covered by the memorandum may also come under review." ¹

2 QUESTION AND ANSWER

In May 1942 the Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education published their own plans, which may be taken as a reply to the Board's memorandum. These questions and answers, in so far as they cover the subject of this book, will form the main part of this chapter. The future of the public schools was not mentioned in the Board's memorandum, and has therefore been dealt with separately. The numbered questions are taken from the published summary.

- Q. 1. The raising of the school-leaving age. Should there be exemptions after 14 as contemplated by the Education Act 1936?

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- A. . . . the principle of equality of opportunity and parity between schools and institutions at the post-primary stage requires a common minimum leaving age. This inevitably means the raising of the minimum leaving age to 16 years. Although it must be recognized that the lengthening of school life by two years cannot, because of problems of accommodation and staffing, be achieved at once, it is none the less essential that statutory provision should be made immediately for a minimum leaving age of 16. All organization and building must proceed on the basis of a minimum leaving age of 16 : it would be highly uneconomical to plan and build on a more restricted basis. . . . Provision should likewise be made for an intermediate period during which the leaving age should be 15, without exemptions. This should be undertaken as soon as the war ends.²

“Beneficial employment,” for which exemptions from school attendance between 14 and 15 were to be allowed under the Education Act, 1936, was so difficult to define that its interpretation was bound to vary from area to area and to result in much inequality.

- Q. 2. The need for re-defining elementary education. Should the appropriate division of full-time education be primary up to the age of 11 and secondary thereafter ?
- A. The primary stage of education ends at about the age of 11, although it should be borne in mind that a slightly later age may, in the future, prove to be either generally or locally more advantageous. [The Report prefers “Post-primary” for the next stage, “up to the age of 16 years for all and to 18 years for some.”]
- Q. 3. Such re-definition would give rise to the following questions :
(a) Would the retention of separate Local Education Authorities for elementary (i.e. primary) education be justified ?
- A. The effects of enemy action and of a war economy both centrally and locally, have left no room for doubt that financial reform must be consequential upon, and not independent of, a reconsideration of administrative areas for educational purposes. There is still a tendency on the part of many people to see in the county, the county borough, or the urban district, the ideal authority for one or all educational purposes. The situation demands that each type of authority should be examined. . . .

Since the Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education includes officers of each type of local authority, a more positive agreed statement was hardly to be expected.

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- Q. 3 (b). Would it be necessary to make the provision of secondary education a duty and not a power as at present ?
- A. . . . the provision of post-primary education should be a duty laid by statute upon the local education authority.
- Q. 3 (c). Should all schools at the secondary stage be administered under one Code of Regulations and be free ?
- A. It is proposed that all schools at the post-primary stage should be administered under one code of regulations, and that the artificial differences shall be replaced by a richer variety of educational opportunity. At this stage of education it is as vital as it is difficult to ensure equality of opportunity for the pupil and equality of status and esteem for the variety of schools which must be provided. If this difficulty is to be overcome, all accidental differences such as the different minimum leaving age, the charging of fees, differences in standards of accommodation affecting teaching room, playing fields, cloakrooms, lavatories, and the like, must be entirely eradicated as being relics of a system based upon class or social cleavage. There should in short be a unified system of post-primary education providing in schools of varying type and purpose facilities adapted to the needs of the children over the age of 11.
- Q. 4. The need to review the method of the distribution of children at 11 to the different types of secondary school. Should there be a further review and redistribution at the age of 13 ?
- A. The allocation of children to the type of post-primary education best suited to them should be on educational grounds and without regard to the financial or social position of the parents, although the wishes of the parents should be taken into consideration.

If all post-primary schools are of equal status, the further review and redistribution at the age of 13 recommended by the Hadow Report will be a comparatively easy matter. In the past, owing to differences of status, transfers from one type of school to another have been rare.

- Q. 5. The contribution that might be made (a) to maintaining the mental alertness and physical welfare of young people ; (b) to the improvement of their vocational training related to their employment ; and (c) to the development of their social and recreational interests, by a system of part-time day continuation schools up to the age of 18 following full-time schooling.
- A. Too often in the past there has been a break between the end of full-time schooling and the beginning of any form of con-

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tinued education. This involves a waste of talent and capacity which the community cannot afford. It is, therefore, essential that there should be compulsory continued education up to at least the age of 18 for all boys and girls who have completed the post-primary stage of their education before that age, and that there should be universal provision of day continuation schools for the purpose.

- Q. 6. The relation of the Youth Service to any such development in order to build up a complete system covering the social, physical, and educational welfare of adolescents.
- A. The present Service of Youth, valuable and important as it is while the educational system remains truncated and insufficient, cannot be regarded as full provision for boys and girls in the early years of employment. The day continuation school should become the corner-stone of any provision for boys and girls in the early years of employment.
- Q. 7. The need for an improved and extended system of technical, commercial, and art training and for establishing closer relations between education and industry and commerce.
- A. From the age of 16 onwards there should be also an unprecedented extension of full-time art and technological courses leading to studies of this character at a university level.

Speaking on this subject on 12th September 1942, Mr. J. Chuter Ede, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, said :

A great industrial island community must not direct all its precocious and many of its more intelligent citizens out of creative work and skilled craftsmanship into routine clerical tasks. The creative designer and skilled craftsman are the solid basis on which our economic life depends. The education service has to recognize that if we are to survive.

- Q. 8. The establishment, in order to secure equality of opportunity, of a unified system of aid to enable students to proceed to the universities.
- A. There can be no doubt that, at the present time, the ability of a young man or woman to proceed to the university depends to a considerable extent upon the financial position of his or her parents, and upon their willingness to provide the necessary means. As an immediate reform it is necessary to ensure that all young men and women who have shown their ability to profit by a university education should be able to proceed to the university with sufficient funds to make the best of life there.

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Q. 9. With a view to making the school medical services fully effective :

(a) Should local education authorities be under an obligation to provide for the treatment of certain specific defects in the case of children in both primary and secondary schools ?

A. It is necessary that medical inspection and treatment of all children should become the statutory duty of all local education authorities.

Q. 9 (b). [Deals with nursery schools and classes.]

Q. 9 (c). Is further provision desirable for handicapped and mal-adjusted children ?

A. The general provision for mentally and physically afflicted children is far from adequate to the needs. Any educational system which fails to make adequate special provision for handicapped children is to be condemned. It is suggested therefore :

That it should be a statutory duty of local education authorities to provide for the education of blind and deaf children within their area between the ages of 5 and 16, and for other defective children between the ages of 7 and 16.

The importance of home life is such that no child should be removed from his home against the wishes of the parents, except for a good and sufficient reason. It is, however, doubtful whether the local education authority has at present sufficient power to provide adequately for the education of those children for whom suitable provision cannot be made without removal from their home.

The above reference to " other defective children " is misleading. Acts of 1913 and 1914 had imposed on authorities the duty not only of discovering all educable mentally defective children in their areas between the ages of 7 and 16, but of providing suitably for them. The war of 1914-18 postponed the contemplated expansion, and in 1929 only 16,000 out of a total of 33,000 ascertained children were in special schools.

In that year the Mental Deficiency Committee, appointed, in 1924, issued a report based on a most thorough investigation of six representative areas, each with a population of about 100,000. This investigation showed that there were no fewer than 105,000 mental defectives between the ages of 7 and 16, or roughly three times as many as had been ascertained, and that 77 per cent. of these educable defectives were at the ordinary elementary schools.³

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In the estimation of their teachers, who were often unaware of their affliction, the average retardation of these children was 2·7 years ; Dr. Lewis, the investigator, found it to be 5 years.⁴ In addition, he found that 24 per cent. of the low-grade defectives,* who are by definition ineducable and therefore outside the scope of the Board of Education, were attending ordinary public elementary schools, while another 11 per cent. were at special schools intended for the educable defectives.

Before 1929 the Board had found that a child population of 8,000, or a total population of 55,000, was the minimum that could support a day special school with 40 on roll. Dr. Lewis's investigation showed that a school population of only 3,000, or a total population of less than 20,000, was sufficient to support one of these schools, if only the children were ascertained. In 1929 no fewer than 40 of the 100 towns in England and Wales with a population of over 50,000 failed to make provision for the mentally defective child. It was clear, therefore, that the system of special schools could be enormously enlarged. But by some flaw of reasoning the Committee assumed that since *in the past* special schools could not be successfully organized except when there was a population of about 55,000, no great extension of the special school system was possible.⁵ They accordingly recommended that the 105,000 educable mental defectives should be grouped with the 300,000 retarded children and educated with them in separate departments.⁶ This plan was out of the question on financial grounds alone, and no attempt has been made to put it into operation.

The Board apparently accepted the Committee's faulty conclusion that the special school system could not be extended. In consequence of this attitude, the number of these schools had by 1938 actually fallen below what it was in 1909, before the duty of providing for mentally defective children had been imposed on authorities, while the number of children accommodated in 1938 was only 13,428.⁷ The ascertainment and

* *I.e.* "imbeciles," who are trainable but ineducable, and "idiots," who are not even trainable.

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suitable education of the 92,000 educable mental defectives for whom no proper provision is being made is one of the most urgent problems awaiting solution.⁸

Q. 9 (d). Should an obligation be laid on local education authorities to make or otherwise secure the provision of meals and milk for all children for whom such provision is necessary in order that they may derive full benefit from their education?

A. The provision of school meals has two aspects :

- (i) the preservation of a high standard of nutrition among school children ;
- (ii) social training.

Because midday meals have been shown, by careful investigation, to be the most certain means, and in many cases the only means, of ensuring a high standard of nutrition, and because they have proved to be a social element and a civilizing influence of the highest value to the life of the school, it should now become the duty of the local education authority to provide them, free of charge, in all schools.

Mr. Butler announced in June 1942 that over 700,000 children were then taking midday meals at school, and that the target of 1,000,000 meals a day for children should be reached by the end of the summer. In addition, about 3,250,000 children were getting milk at school. The benefit of the milk-in-schools scheme, by which milk for drinking can be obtained by children in grant-aided schools at the price of only $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per one-third of a pint, was now to be extended to all schools.

Q. 10. The need to review the method of recruiting to and training for the teaching profession, especially in the light of any decisions that may be taken as to the general framework of post-war education.

A. . . . a comprehensive inquiry, which should include consideration of the contribution of the universities, is long overdue. There is one point which, in view of past prejudice, it is necessary to mention explicitly. There is a definite need in the schools for teachers recruited from industry, commerce, and other walks of life. It is also important that all intending teachers should, before they practise their profession, have as much contact as possible with those training for and engaged in other occupations.

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Mr. Butler dealt with this question in the House of Commons on 16th June 1942 as follows :

I confess that I am not satisfied that we recruit teachers from a wide enough field, or that the teachers themselves get sufficient opportunity for fitting themselves for their noble career. In my opinion the old days of academic attainment being the sole test for the teaching profession are gone. Education is more than mere acquisition of knowledge, and it is my belief that after the war we could find young men and women with a wide experience of life, not necessarily academically inclined, who, if suitably trained, would welcome this form of service to the community and would add variety and richness to the teaching personnel. I have thought this question so important that I have set up a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. McNair, Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University, to investigate it, together with the question of the supply of teachers and the supply of youth leaders.

Q. 11. The question how the Dual System can be adapted to a reformed system so as to secure equality of opportunity and sound and economical organization.

A. The dual system [i.e. the two-fold system of council and Church schools] is an impediment to good organization and to the general provision of satisfactory working conditions. Unless it is brought to an end it will prove an increasingly serious obstacle to the refashioning of the educational structure on the basis already outlined. It should, however, be clearly understood that the demand for the disappearance of the dual system is based on no disagreement as to the place of religious instruction in the school curriculum, but only on the imperative necessity of removing administrative dualism with all its harmful consequences.

Education is pre-eminently a spiritual process, and the antithesis which is frequently drawn between secular and religious education is a false antithesis. It is almost universally accepted both in principle and in practice that religious instruction efficiently given is an essential element in any balanced curriculum. Much progress has been made in recent years as a result of the increasing adoption of agreed syllabuses. This, however, is by itself not enough. The ideal of genuine religious education requires not only that efficient religious instruction shall be an integral part of the curriculum, but also that each school shall be a Christian community manifesting in all its activities the Christian ideal and way of life. Along these lines much progress can be made in the future.

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On the question of the giving of denominational instruction in the schools of the public system the Report adds :

There can, in the educational system of the future, be no question of the provision of denominational instruction for all. But in those voluntary schools which can continue to play an effective part in an integrated educational system, there should be arrangements to continue that kind of denominational instruction for which the schools were founded.

- Q. 12. The possibility of establishing
- (a) a more uniform system of remuneration of teachers, and
 - (b) a more equitable distribution between national and local finances of the cost of education.
- A. (a) The Burnham Committee have performed great public service over the past twenty years by obtaining almost universal acceptance of the principle of national settlement by negotiation of all questions of salaries for the teaching profession. The organization of the educational system into two successive stages, primary and post-primary, will necessitate reconsideration of the principles upon which a new award should be founded. The Burnham Committee can be relied upon to revise their machinery so as to deal effectively with the new situation thus created.
- (b) The educational progress of a child depends too often upon the accidental factor of its place of birth. Facilities vary considerably from area to area. . . . A national policy . . . should not depend on what wealthy communities are prepared to spend and what poor communities can afford. National and local expenditure should, therefore, be finely balanced ; the scale should be proportionally weighted by Government aid where, for any reason, local resources are low.

3 THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

The position and functions of the Board of Education were not mentioned in the summary of the memorandum, but they are vital to the future of education in this country. As the Report of the Directors and Secretaries for Education states :

The Minister for Education should be second to no other Departmental Minister either in status or influence, and his duties should extend over the whole of the educational and social life of the community.

The time has now come when the educational powers exercised

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by other departments, for example, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries [Agricultural education], the Ministry of Health [Poor Law residential schools], the Home Office [Approved residential schools for delinquents], and the Ministry of Labour [occupational centres for low-grade mental defectives], should be transferred to the Board of Education.

But educational progress depends not only on the Board, but on local education authorities, school governors and managers, teachers, employers, parents, and the general public. Unless the Board can carry these various groups with it, progress will, at least, be seriously delayed.

The only remedy seems to be a change in the Board's attitude to publicity and a great strengthening of its Intelligence and Public Relations Department. One duty of the Department should be to see that all official reports are written in plain language and provided with proper indices and other aids to study. The amateur editing of many recent reports has seriously limited their usefulness.⁹ Again, if "Public Relations" are to be improved, closer co-operation with the national Press is imperative. This side of the work should be in the hands of an experienced educational journalist, on whose advice statements of official policy or corrections of popular errors should from time to time be sent to the leading newspapers and journals.

Another officer or group of officers might concern themselves with the enlightenment of those actually engaged in the administration of education. A newly appointed county councillor, for example, would welcome a short booklet outlining the national system of education and the financial relationship between central and local authorities. If he were appointed to the education committee he would want to have more detailed knowledge, which could be provided in another booklet. Membership of, say, the elementary education sub-committee would necessitate a further extension of knowledge. These booklets would prove equally useful to the various permanent officials in the local authority's education department, where it is not uncommon to find a Grade I clerk, responsible for the day-to-day administration

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of some important branch, unaware of the educational principles on which his decisions should be based, or of the educational connection between his own branch and the one administered in the next room.

Booklets for employers and parents would consist largely of information about local facilities, and would require local editing, but they would be much improved by well thought out general statements supplied by the Board's Intelligence Department.

In these and other ways accurate educational knowledge could be diffused far and wide. The effect on educational progress of such a policy of enlightenment would be immense.

APPENDIX I: SOURCES

(Where no publisher is mentioned, H.M. Stationery Office is to be understood)

I. MAIN SOURCES

1. The chief original sources consulted :

The Education Acts of 1899, 1902, 1907, 1918, and 1936. The 1921 Act contained nothing new, but was merely a compendium of Education Acts since 1870, so it has not been quoted.

The Board's Regulations for various types of school, and the Prefatory Memoranda to the earlier Regulations

The Board's Annual Reports, 1903-38

Circulars from the Board to Local Authorities

The Handbook of Suggestions (various editions)

Certain Educational Pamphlets

Speeches by Mr. Fisher and Mr. R. A. Butler when President of the Board

2. Among the chief secondary sources consulted :

The Reports of the Consultative Committee, especially those on *The Education of the Adolescent* (1926) and on *Secondary Education* (1938), i.e. The Hadow Report and the Spens Report. Writings of men who played a part in shaping the Board's policy at different times: Sir Robert Morant, Sir Michael Sadler, Lord Eustace Percy, Dr. R. H. Tawney, Mr. Kenneth Lindsay

3. Next in importance :

Reports of other Advisory Bodies whose recommendations have in the main been approved by the Board: *The Teaching of English in England* (1921), *Education for Salesmanship* (1931), *The School Certificate* (1932)

4. In a fourth group :

Writings of former officers of the Board who have helped to carry out the Board's policy: Mr. B. A. Abbott, Mr. H. Ward, Mr. G. A. N. Lowndes

Writings of local administrators who have witnessed the effects of the Board's policy: Sir Graham Balfour, Mr. J. G. Legge, Mr. G. A. N. Lowndes

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Writings of teachers under local authorities: Mr. F. C. Happold

5. In a fifth group:

Writings of historians and biographers who have found time to make a thorough study of available sources: Mr. A. F. Leach, Mr. Birchenough, Mr. R. L. Archer, Dr. B. M. Allen, Mr. G. A. N. Lowndes

6. A sixth group:

Contemporary criticism of the following important documents: Secondary School Regulations for 1904-5, The Hadow Report, *The Teaching of English in England*, The Spens Report

II. SOURCES CONSULTED FOR PART I (1895-1903)

1. For the period 1895-1903 the chief original sources consulted:

The Bryce Commission Report (1895), The Board of Education Act (1899), The Education Act (1902)

For the rival theories of Secondary Education, of which Robert Morant and Michael Sadler are chosen as the protagonists, the following were consulted:

Sir Robert Morant, by Bernard M. Allen (Macmillan, 1934). A partisan account which, however, contains much original matter unobtainable elsewhere

Prefatory Memorandum to Regulations for Secondary Schools, 1904-5, Cmd. 2128

Papers relating to the Resignation of the Director of Special Inquiries and Reports, Cmd. 1602 (1903)

Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. I (1896-97)

2. Secondary sources:

For a general picture of Secondary Education in the 'nineties, *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*, by R. L. Archer (Cambridge University Press, 1921) has been relied on; and *The Silent Social Revolution*, by G. A. N. Lowndes (Oxford University Press, 1937), contains valuable statistics and places the events in correct perspective. *Notes for the Study of English Education: 1860 to 1902*, by Herbert Ward (Bell, 1937) is admirably condensed and suggestive. Sir Graham Balfour's *Educational Administration* (Oxford University Press, 1921) contains outspoken comments on the lack of ministerial control at the Board. Sir A. Selby-Bigge's *Board of Education* (Putnam, 1927) gives a clear picture of the Board's position and limitations.

APPENDIX I: SOURCES

3. Other publications quoted :

- Instinct, Intelligence, and Character*, by Godfrey H. Thomson (Allen and Unwin ; 2nd Edition, 1932)
The Outlook in Secondary Education, by Sir M. Sadler (Bureau of Publications, Teachers' Training College, New York, 1930)
Report of Consultative Committee on Secondary Education (1938)
Report of Consultative Committee on The Education of the Adolescent (1926)
Education for Industry and Commerce in England, by B. A. Abbott (Oxford University Press, 1933)

III. SOURCES CONSULTED FOR PART II (1904-14)

1. The chief original sources consulted for this period :

The series of Annual Reports of the Board of Education, the various new sets of Regulations with their Prefatory Memoranda, and the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907
Margaret McMillan, Prophet and Pioneer, by Albert Mansbridge (Dent, 1932), contains letters from Sir Robert Morant expressing his views on health conditions in schools.

2. Secondary sources :

The Annual Report for 1923-24 contains a valuable review of "Secondary" Education during this period, while *The Rising Tide*, by J. G. Legge (Basil Blackwell, 1929), records the impressions of one who played an active part in pre-war administration. The most important criticism of the Board's policy during this period is contained in the historical chapter of the Consultative Committee's report on *Secondary Education* (1938). *Sir Robert Morant*, by Bernard M. Allen (Macmillan, 1934) gives a full account of the events which led up to Morant's withdrawal. Birchenough, in his *History of Elementary Education* (University Tutorial Press, 2nd Edition, 1932), supplies a valuable account of the abortive Liberal measure of 1913-14.

3. Other publications quoted :

- The Health of the School Child for 1937*
Syllabus of Physical Training in Schools (1933)
Year Book of Education (Evans Bros., 1932)
Journal of Education (1905 and 1906) *
The Silent Social Revolution (Oxford University Press, 1937)
The Education of the Adolescent (1926)

* Not published by the Stationery Office

APPENDIX I : SOURCES

IV. SOURCES CONSULTED FOR PART III (1914-19)

1. The original sources consulted for the War of 1914-18 period :
Board of Education Reports of 1913-14 to 1918-19
Mr. Fisher's Speeches at Manchester and Liverpool (1917)
The Education Act, 1918
2. Secondary sources are scanty, but references are to be found in the Board's Report for 1923-24, the Consultative Committee's Reports on *The Education of the Adolescent* (1926) and on *Secondary Education* (1938), and in Birchenough, *op. cit.* Mr. Lowndes, *op. cit.*, states in error that the Board ceased to publish reports during the war, and passes rapidly over the period.

V. SOURCES CONSULTED FOR PART IV (1919-39)

1. The chief original sources consulted :
The complete series of the Board's Annual Reports
The complete series of Circulars (1243-1466) inclusive
The Education Act, 1918
The Education Act, 1936
Educational Pamphlets Nos. 63, 105, 107
Handbook of Suggestions, Editions of 1918, 1923, 1937
2. The chief secondary sources consulted :
Secondary Education for All : A Policy for Labour, edited by R. H. Tawney (Allen and Unwin, 1924), the first clear statement of the policy later proposed by The Consultative Committee's report on *The Education of the Adolescent* (1926), and pressed to its logical conclusion in their report on *Secondary Education* (1938). For the study of technical education, the *Year-Book of Education* for 1932 (Evans Bros.), edited by Lord Eustace Percy, and his *Education at the Cross-roads* (Evans Bros., 1930), are the most valuable works ; but *Education for Industry and Commerce in England*, by B. A. Abbott (Oxford University Press, 1933) is also helpful. Important reports by the Board's Advisory Bodies include :
Scholarships and Free Places (1920)
The Teaching of English in England (1921)
Mental Deficiency (1929)
Education for Salesmanship (1931)
The School Certificate (1932)
The Higher Certificate Examination (1939)

APPENDIX I: SOURCES

3. Other publications quoted :

Consultative Committee's report on *Psychological Tests of Educable Capacity* (1924)

The Triumph of the Dalton Plan, by Dr. C. W. Kimmins and Belle Rennie (Nicholson and Watson, 1927)

Education : Its Data and First Principles, by Sir Percy Nunn (Edward Arnold, 2nd Edition, 1936)

Citizens in the Making, by F. C. Happold (Christophers, 1935)

The Next Step in Education (University of London Press, 1927)

VI. SOURCES CONSULTED FOR PART V (1939-42)

Owing to the suspension of the Board's Annual Reports, no complete picture can at present be given of this period.

1. The chief original sources consulted :

The official report of the first House of Commons wartime debate on Education, held on 16th June 1942

The Schools in War Time, 1941

Report of the Mental Deficiency Committee, 1929

Circulars dealing with Youth Service : 1486, 1516, 1529, 1543

After Many Days, by Sir Frank Fletcher (Hale, 1937)

Public and Preparatory Schools Year-Book (Deane, 1942)

2. The chief secondary sources consulted :

Advisory Bodies, Chap. V, by John Graves (Allen and Unwin, 1941)

English Education, by Kenneth Lindsay (Collins, 1941)

A. F. Leach in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Edition, 1909)

Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century, by R. L. Archer (Cambridge University Press, 1921)

Saint George or the Dragon, by Lord Elton (Collins, 1942)

The Public Schools and the Future, by Donald Hughes (Cambridge University Press, 1942)

Education : A Plan for the Future, by the Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education (Oxford University Press, 1942)

APPENDIX II: NOTES

(With the Board of Education annual reports, the Command number (Cmd.) is given only on the first mention of each report)

NOTE ON USE OF TERMS

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| 1 <i>The Education of the Adolescent</i> (1926), pp. 95-96 | <i>Secondary Education (Grammar and Technical High Schools)</i> , 1938 |
| 2 See terms of reference, p. iv of | 3 <i>Ibid.</i> , p. xviii. |

CHAPTER I

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| 4 <i>Sir Robert Morant</i> , by Bernard M. Allen (Macmillan, 1934), pp. 126-127 | 19 <i>Education for Industry and Commerce in England</i> , by B. A. Abbott (Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 23-24 |
| 5 <i>The Silent Social Revolution</i> , by G. A. N. Lowndes (Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 27 | 20 <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 28 |
| 6 <i>Educational Administration</i> , by Sir Graham Balfour (Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 8 | 21 <i>The Education of the Adolescent</i> , p. 35 |
| 7 <i>The Silent Social Revolution</i> , p. 60 | 22 See Archer, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 308 |
| 8 <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 46 | 23 Lowndes, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 48 |
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